

O F
W I S D O M.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in F R E N C H,
B Y T H E
Sieur *de* C H A R R O N.

With an Account of the A U T H O R.

Made E N G L I S H
By G E O R G E S T A N H O P E, D. D.
Late Dean of *Canterbury*.

V O L. II.

The T H I R D E D I T I O N, *Corrected*.

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The Fifth and last Respect under which MAN was to be considered; consisting of the Differences between Some and Others; and of the Comparisons arising from hence.

C H A P. XLI.

Of the Difference and Inequality of Men in general.

THERE is not any one Thing in all this lower World, wherein so great Variety is observable, as in Mankind; not any general Head or Species of Beings, whose Individuals differ in so many, and so distant Particulars from one another. If *Pliny*, and *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* may be credited, there are Men in some Places, whose Form and Figure bears but very little Resemblance to this of ours; and several Mongrels and Medleys between the Man and the Beast. Some Countries are inhabited by Men without any Head, whose Eyes and Mouth

Book I.

are placed in their Breasts; some by Hermaphrodites; some, where they go on all Four; some, where they have but one Eye, and that in the middle of their Forehead; and a Head shaped more like a Dog, than such as we see Men usually have. Some Places, where the lower Part is all Fish, and they live in the Water; where their Women bring Children at Five Years old, and live no longer than Eight; where their Skull and Forehead is so hard, that no Iron can break or enter it, but rebounds back again; where they are transformed into Wolves, and Sheep, and Oxen, and at last return to the Human Form again; where they have no Mouth, and all the Nourishment they are sustained by, is from the Smell of certain Scents. And, to go no farther, this very last Age hath discovered, and many now living have seen and felt Men, that have no Beards at all; that live without the use of Fire, or Corn, or Wine; and Countries, where what we abominate as the most odious Deformity, is look'd upon and valued as the most exquisite Beauty; (as hath been hinted before.) As for the Diversity of Customs and Manners, that will be the Business of another Head. What hath been related here may possibly seem incredible; but if it do, our Point will be prov'd without it. For go no farther than our own Knowledge, and what infinite Differences are there in *Faces*? insomuch that two are no where to be found, exactly and in all Particulars alike. 'Tis true, sometimes there happen Mistakes of one Person for another, because of a very great Likeness between them; but then these always happen, when one of the Parties is not by. For when we meet them both together,

gether, the Error vanishes; and we easily discern a Difference, which serves for a sufficient Mark of Distinction to us, tho' perhaps it is such a one, as we cannot readily tell what to call it.

The *Souls* of Men are yet more various, and full of distinguishing Characters, than their *Bodies*; for there is in this respect, not only a greater Difference between Man and Man, than any that can be discover'd between Beast and Beast: But (which is but a bad Business, and not much for our Honour) the Distance is more between some Men and others, than it seems to be between some Men and Beasts. For one of the most excellent and apprehensive Animals, seems to make much nearer Approaches to the Understanding and Sagacity of Men of the lowest Form, than those Men to some of the most capable and accomplish'd Persons. Now this mighty Difference between Men proceeds from inward and unseen Causes; from the Mind, which consists of such variety of Parts; and it is brought about by such intricate Springs and Principles of Motion, that the Contemplation of them would be infinite, and the Degrees depending upon them without Number.

Now the last Part of our Undertaking for attaining to a right Knowledge of Man, must consist of the Distinctions and Differences observable in him: And these are of several sorts, according to the different Parts of which Human Nature is compounded, and the different Methods and Capacities in which Men may be consider'd, and compar'd with one another. At present we will instance in Five, which seem to be the Principal; and of so large Extent, that all the rest may be re-

Book I. duc'd to them. For, generally speaking, all that is in Man is either Body or Spirit, Natural or Acquired, Publick or Private, Apparent or Secret; and accordingly this fifth and last Consideration shall branch itself into Five Particulars, which shall be so many Capital Distinctions between Man and Man.

The First of these is *Natural, Essential, and Universal*; in which the whole Man, both Body and Mind, are concern'd.

The Second is principally *Natural and Essential*; but in some measure *Artificial* and acquired too; and this concerns the Strength and Capacity of the Mind.

The Third is *Accidental*, and depends upon Men's Conditions and their Duties respectively; the Ground of all which is taken from the Circumstance of Superior or Inferior.

The Fourth is likewise *Accidental*, and relates to Men's particular Professions, and different Ways of Living.

The Fifth and Last considers them with regard to the *Advantages and Disadvantages*, by which either Nature or Fortune hath distinguished them.

C H A P. XLII.

The First Difference whereby Men are distinguish'd, which is Natural, and Essential, and derived from the several Climates of the World.

THE First, most remarkable, and universal Distinction between some Men and others, is that which regards the whole Person, the Mind and Body both, and all the Parts whereof Man consists. And this is deriv'd from the different Situation of Countries, and Divisions of the World; in proportion to which there necessarily follows a Difference in the Aspects and Influences of the Heavens, the Distance of the Sun, the Temperament of the Air, and the Nature of the Soil: And from hence Men receive different Complexions, and Statures, and Countenances; nay, different Manners and Dispositions, and different Faculties of the Soul too. * *The Climate does not only contribute very much to the Strength of the Body, but also to the Vigor of the Mind. At Athens the Air is thin and fine, from whence the Athenians are generally sharp, and of quick Parts: At Thebes it is thick and foggy, and this makes the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country, stupid and dull, gross and robust.* This Consideration mov'd Plato to thank

* Plaga Cœli non solum ad robur Corporum, sed & animorum facit. Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo etiam acutiores Attici; crassum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes.

God, that he was a Native of *Athens* and not of *Thebes*.

† *Prolifick Rays shed by the partial Sun,
Are not confin'd to Seeds and Plants alone;
Souls too the differing Genial Influence know,
And relish of the Soil in which they grow.*

As the Nature of the Fruits, and of other Animals is very different, according to the Regions where they spring, and are bred; so Men likewise owe their Temper to their Country; and upon this account bring into the World with them Dispositions greater or less, to War, Courage, Justice, Temperance, Docility, Religion, Chastity, Wit, Goodness, Obedience, Beauty, Health and Strength. Upon this account *Cyrus* would not permit the *Perfians* to quit their own Country, which was rough and rocky, for another that was champaign and smooth; and the Reason he gave was, That soft and pleasant Soils produce effeminate People; and Fruitfulness in the Ground causes Barrenness in the Minds of the Inhabitants.

According to this Ground-work we may erect general Schemes of the World, by parcelling out the Countries of it into three large Divisions, and the Natives into as many Dispositions. The three general Divisions to be made on this Occasion, shall comprehend the two Extremities of North and South, and the middle Region between them both. Each Part or Division shall consist of sixty De-

† *Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Jupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.*

grees.

grees. The first shall be plac'd under the Line, and take in thirty Degrees on each side of it; that is, all that Part of the Globe contain'd within the two Tropicks, and some small matter more. In which Part lie those that are commonly call'd the hot and Southern Countries, and that which Astronomers and Geographers distinguish by the Title of the *Torrid Zone*; *Africa* and *Æthiopia* in the middle between East and West; *Arabia*, *Calicut*, the *Molukes*, and *Java* Eastward; *Peru* and the great Seas Westward. The second or middle Division goes thirty Degrees beyond the former on each side, reckoning from the Tropicks towards the Poles; and these are the moderate Climates, or *Temperate Zones*. This includes all *Europe* and the Mediterranean Sea, between East and West; the greater and lesser *Asia* Eastward; and *China*, *Japan*, and *America* to the Westward. The third extends itself thirty Degrees farther yet, which lie nearest to each Pole; these are the *Frigid Zones*, the Frozen Regions, and they that are called the Northern Nations, as *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Estotiland*, *Magellan*, and all that Tract, which, because not hitherto fully discover'd, goes by the Name of *Terra Incognita*.

According to this general Partition of the World, the Qualities and Dispositions of the People are proportionably different: And that, whether we regard the Body, the Mind, Religion, or Manners; as this little Table here subjoin'd will more distinctly represent the Matter.

For	The <i>Northerly</i> Peo-	The Tem-	Southern People are
I. As to their Bodies.	ple are Tall and Big, Phlegma- tick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices strong, their Skin soft and hairy, great Eaters and Drin- kers, strong and robust.	perate and Mid- dle Regi- ons are in a Mean, and of a Nature between these two Extremes, Moderate and in a State of Neutrality, (as it were) in	Low of Stature, small built, in- clining to Me- lancholy, of cold and dry Consti- tutions, Black and Tawny, di- posed to Soli- tude, their Voi- ces small and weak, their Skin hard, little Hair, frizled and shag- gy, abstemious and weak.
II. Their Minds.	Heavy, Dull, Stu- pid, Foolish, cre- dulous, easy to be imposed up- on, inconstant in their Humours and Opinions.	all these respects. Partaking in some measure of both Qualities, but most	Ingenious, Apt, Wise, Prudent, Subtle, Positive in their Opini- ons, Obstinate, Unpersuadable.
III. Their Religi- on.	Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.	inclining to the Di- positions of that Division	Given to Supersti- tion, Studious, and Contempla- tive.
IV. Their Man- ners.	Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Labori- ous, Chaste, not apt to be Jeal- ous, Cruel, In- human.	upon which they bor- der near- est.	Averse to War, Cowardly, La- scivious, Jealous Cruel and Inhu- man.

It is no difficult Matter to evince the Truth of these Characters, and assign very probable Reasons, why the Persons here mentioned should thus differ from each other. As to those Differences, which relate to the Body; we have Evidence of Sense for them, and our Eyes supply the Place of a Thousand Arguments. If there be some excepted Cases from the general Rules, they may very easily be accounted for, (tho' indeed these Exceptions are but very few.) The mingling and promiscuous Marriages of several Nations; the Winds, the Waters, and particuar Situation of the Places where they dwell, may each of them contribute to it, and all together may make a considerable Alteration. Thus a very high and mountainous Country may vary remarkably from a flat under the same Latitude; nay, this different Site may cause some Variation in the very same Country or City. *Plutarch* observes, that the Humours of those who were born and dwelt in the upper Town at *Athens*, were very distant from those of the lower Town, and by the Sea-side about the *Pirætan* Port. A high Mountain on the *North*-side of a Valley, will render the Plain to the *Southward* of it, to all Intents and Purposes, a *Southern* Climate; and by the same Reason, a Mountain to the *Southward*, which intercepts the Sun, will give the Valley beyond it the Effects of a *Northern* Climate.

As for those Differences, which relate to the Mind; We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and most Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the *North*, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Industry and Toil. But Learning and Speculative Sciences move with the

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1.
These Differences proved.

2.
Their Mind.

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the Sun, and come from the *South* to us. *Cæsar*, and the Ancients, give the *Ægyptians* the Character of a most ingenious, and exceeding subtle People; and the Scripture takes Notice, as one Commendation and great Accomplishment of *Moses*, that he had been instructed, and was *well skilled in all the Wisdom of the Ægyptians*. From thence first Philosophy set forward into *Europe*; for the *Greeks* were beholden to *Ægypt* for the Fundamentals and Elements of Wisdom. Greatness and State seems to have begun there, by reason of the Vigor and Subtilty of their Parts. The Guards of Princes, even of them whose Dwellings and Dominions are in the *South*, are usually composed of *Northerly* Men; as being look'd upon to have more Strength of Body, and less of Mind; fit for Fight and Defence, but not qualify'd for subtle Plots and secret Designs, nor disposed to Treachery and Malice. What was said of *Hannibal*, is true of these *Southern* Nations, they are of a Disposition that will serve for great Vices, and great Virtues, and may be eminent in either: That which is chiefly commendable in the *Northern*, is Good-Nature, and Plainness, and undesigning Honesty. The intermediate Sciences, such as are mix'd, partly Speculative, and partly Practicall; Politicks (for Instance) and Laws, and Eloquence, and the like, are owing to the middle Regions between those Extremes, and most conspicuous and improved there. For it is observable, that the greatest and most flourishing Empires and States, have been seated in this Part of the World.

3.
Religion.

As to our third Particular: Most Part of the *Religions* practis'd in the World, came from the *South*; and

and what Mankind generally observe at this Day, is either what begun there, or Additions and Improvements upon it. *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, and *Chaldea*, have been their Teachers and Patterns; and *Africa* is observ'd to have more Superstition in it, than all the World besides. Witness, the Frequency of their Vows, and the incredible Magnificence of their Temples. As for the *Northern Nations*, *Cæsar* takes Notice, That they have but very little Regard to *Religion*, but employ and delight themselves chiefly in *War* and *Hunting*.

For the *Manners* and *Dispositions* of Men in general; look upon the First in regard to War, and it is most evident, that numerous Armies, Military Arts and Discipline, Engines, and Instruments, and Inventions of this kind, are originally deriv'd from the *North*. The Nations which set out from thence, *Scythians*, and *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Huns*, and *Tartars*, and *Turks*, and *Germans*; these have fought, and subdu'd all other Nations, and ravag'd the whole World. The Devastations they made, and the Barbarities they exercised, gave Occasion to that Proverb, that *all Evil came out of the North*. Duels, and set Combats, are deriv'd from them. *Solinus* says, the *Northern Nations* worship the Blade of a Sword, stuck down into the Earth. Other People have not been able to conquer them; not even the *Romans*, who vanquished the rest of the World, but were themselves overcome and destroy'd by them. It is remarkable, that the *South Wind* makes them weak and faint, and that in Proportion as they advance nearer the *South*, they degenerate and grow feeble; and so just contrary, the *Southern Nations*, when they move *Northward*,

ward, improve their Constitutions, and feel themselves grow much more hardy and strong. Upon the Account of this Courage and Warlike Spirit it is, that the *Northern* People cannot endure to be insulted and tyranniz'd over; they are Enemies to Arbitrary Power, and absolute Dominion; are great Lovers of Liberty; and submit most willingly where the Governments are Elective. As for Chastity and Jealousy; in the *North*, one Man hath but one Wife, (as *Tacitus* observes) and he thinks one Wife sufficient too; they are by no means inclin'd to Jealousy, (says *Munster*) as one may guess by Men and their Wives bathing together in a Company of Strangers. Polygamy is practis'd all over the whole *Southern* Tract. All *Africa*, (says *Solinus*) is devoted to the Worship of *Venus*. *Southern* Men have a strange Propension to Jealousy, and even die with the Rage of it; and therefore they get Eunuchs for their Security, and set them as a Guard upon their Women. Thus the *Grand Signior* does in his Seraglio, where he keeps vast Numbers of Ladies, (like a Stable of Mares) to breed upon.

In *Cruelty* both Extremes resemble one another; but tho' the *Effect* be the same, the *Cause* is not so; as will be explain'd presently, when we come to consider the Causes of these Differences. The most barbarous Methods of Punishment, such as breaking upon the Wheel, and Impaling Men alive, came from the *North*. The Merciless Cruelties of the *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, are abundantly notorious; the *Germans* (*Tacitus* tells us) never punish Malefactors by legal Process, but fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces like Enemies.

The

Of the Difference of Men.

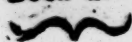
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The Southern Nations too slay their Criminals alive; and their Desire of Revenge is so eager and impatient, that sometimes they run stark mad, if they cannot find Means to satisfy it. Between these most distant Regions, the Nations are full of Kindness, and Good-Nature. The *Romans* usually inflicted no greater Punishment, than that of Banishing their most grievous Offenders. The *Greeks* mingled a stupifying Draught of Hemlock, and other Poysonous Drugs, yet so that it should be sweet upon the Palate; and this they gave their condemn'd Persons to drink and die with. And *Cicero* says, That Humanity and Courtesy seem to be the Portion and peculiar Qualities of the *Lesser Asia*, and to have been from thence diffused over the rest of the World.

Now, the True Cause, from whence all these Differences, both in the Persons and the Dispositions of Men, proceed; is no other than the inward natural Heat, being distributed among the People of these several Climates, so very unequally as it is: For each Country differs from the other, according as these Proportions differ. The Northern Nations have it in a very great degree, by reason of the great Coldness of their Air, which keeps this Heat, and shuts it up close; as we find Cellars in Rocks and deep Wells hottest in Winter; and, to go no farther from Home, so are our own Breast and Stomach, because of the Strength and Abundance of inward Heat at that Time. Now, this must needs be much weaker in Southern People, because the exceeding Vehemence of the Scorching Heat without, and the Force of the Sun-beams scatters, and draws it outwards. As our
Stomachs

5.
The Cause
of these
Differences.



Stomachs and Places under Ground are coolest in Summer, and we feel our inward Burnings abated by Sweating. From this Difference, I say, and unequal Degrees of Natural Heat, arise the several Differences already mentioned; not such only as the Body is concern'd in, for These are visible and obvious; but those that make a Change in the Minds of Men too: For the Southerly People being colder in their Constitutions, are from hence disposed to Melancholy; and this makes them Staid and Solid, Constant, Contemplative, Ingenious, Wise, Religious, and Devout. For Wisdom and Docility is most eminently visible in Beasts of a cold Temperament; as Elephants particularly, which are more Melancholick than any other Animals, and are manifestly the most Apprehensive and apt of any, all which I impute to the Coldness of their Blood. From the same Superfluity and Predominance of Melancholy in their Temper, the Southern People seem to be more Lascivious and Lustful than others, this being a sharp and fretting Humour, and apt to provoke such Inclinations; as we see it in Hares particularly. From the same sharp fretting Melancholy, they are Barbarous and Cruel; for that whets the Passions, and urges them to Blood and Revenge. Now the Northern People, in whose Constitution Phlegm is most predominant, and who abound in Blood and Spirits; are just opposite to the Former, and have the direct contrary Qualities, excepting that they agree in that single Point of Cruelty. But this in these Parts of the World proceeds chiefly from a very different Reason; and that seems to be want of Judgment; so that, like Beasts,

Beasts, they are strong in their Passions, and weak in those Faculties that should controul, and keep them in. The Countries of the Middle Division, abound in Blood and Choler, and so are delivered from the Ill Effects of both Extremes, Phlegm and Melancholy; and accordingly these are Moderate in their Passions, Good-humour'd, Cheerful, Nimble, and Apt, and Active.

It were possible to represent the different Temper and Spirit of these three Sorts of People, after a yet more nice and perfect manner, by making the Application and Comparison to extend to all kind of Things whatsoever; A short Scheme whereof this little Table will present you with; and by That you will perceive, what are the particular Qualities, Influences, Improvements. and Actions of each of them. For, according to what hath been already observ'd upon this Head, we must assign to the

	<i>Northern.</i>	<i>Middle Climate.</i>	<i>Southern.</i>
Qualities of the Soul.	Common Sense.	Discourse and Ratiocination.	Intellect.
	Force and Cou- rage, like that of Bears and Beasts.	The Reason and Justice of Men.	The Subtilty of Foxes, and Re- ligion of Divines.
Planets.	<i>Mars.</i> } War. <i>Luna.</i> } Hunt- ing.	<i>Jupi- ter.</i> } Empe- <i>Mer- cury.</i> } rors. Ora- tors.	<i>Satur</i> } Contem- <i>Venus</i> } plation. Love.
	Arts and Ma- nufactures.	Prudence, and Knowledge of Good and Evil.	Speculative Wif- dom, and Know- ledge of True and False.
Parts and Offices in the Com- monwealth.	Labourers and Artifans, and Soldiers.	Magistrates, dif- creet and provi- dent Persons.	Prelates, Divines and Philoso- phers.
Qualities of different Ages.	Young Men, Aukward and Unapt.	Grown Men, good Managers, and Men of Bu- siness.	Old Men, Grave, Wise and Thoughtful.

These

These are the peculiar Excellencies, and most remarkable Distinctions, which may be attributed to this general Division of North and South. The Nations that lie Westward, and the People that dwell upon the Mountains, approach, and have a great Affinity to the Northern Climates; because of the Cold, to which those Situations are more expos'd; which is also the Case of them who live at a great distance from the Sea. They are Warlike and Fierce, Lovers of Liberty, and have more Honesty and Simplicity in their Tempers. And so again, the Eastern Countries resemble the Southern, as do also those that dwell in the Champaign and great Valleys, and the Borderers upon the Sea. They are more Tender and Effeminate, by reason of the Fruitfulness of their Soil; for Fertility inclines Men to Softness and Pleasure. And your Islanders are commonly Subtle, and Cunning, and Deceitful, by reason of that Commerce and Correspondence they hold with Men and Nations of different Tempers abroad.

From this whole Discourse we may conclude in general, that the Privilege of the Northern Climates lies chiefly in the Qualifications of the Body; Strength, and a Robust Constitution is their peculiar Excellence and Portion. The Southern have the Advantage in the Mind; Subtilty, and Penetration, and Quickness of Parts, is their Talent. The Middle Regions have somewhat of Both, and partake of all these Excellencies; but of each in less Degrees and moderate Proportions. From hence likewise we may understand, that the Manners and Original Dispositions of Men, simply consider'd, are not Vices or Virtues in their own Na-

ture, but necessary and natural Effects. And the absolute renouncing or divesting our selves of these; nay, the perfect Reformation of them, is something more than difficult; it is in some Cases out of our Power. But the sweetning, and moderating, and reducing these Natural Extremes to Temper, and a due Medium; the watching over them carefully, and restraining their Motions; this is properly our Duty, and the Business of Wisdom and Virtue.

C H A P. XLIII.

The Second Distinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds.

^{1.}
*Three Sorts
and De-
grees of
Men in the
World.*

THIS second Distinction, which concerns the Minds of Men, and their inward Accomplishments, is by no means so manifest as the former: It is not obvious to Sense at all, nor does it fall within the compass of every one's Notice and Observation. The Causes of it are likewise compounded; for it depends partly upon Nature, and partly upon Industry and Art; and so extends to our acquir'd Excellencies, as well as to those that are born and bred with us. According to this Distinction, there are, (as was observ'd before) three sorts of Men, which divide them into three Classes or Degrees of Souls.

In the first and lowest of these Ranks we may place those weak and mean Souls, which are almost of a Level with Body and Matter; of slender

der and narrow Capacities; almost perfectly passive, and such as Nature seems to have made on purpose to endure and obey; to live under Subjection and Management, and tamely to follow their Leaders: In a word, such as are *but just Men*, and *no more*.

In the second and middle Row, are those of a tolerable Judgment and Understanding, and such as make some Pretensions to Wit and Learning, Management and Address: These Men know something, but they are not sufficiently acquainted with themselves; They are content to take up with Opinions commonly receiv'd, and stick fast to their first Impressions, without troubling themselves, or indeed being judicious enough, to enquire into the Truth, and Bottom of Things; nay, were they capable of finding their deep and most abstruse Causes, they think this an unlawful Curiosity, and so make the Submission of their Judgments a Principle of Duty and Conscience. They look no farther than that little Spot of Ground where they stand themselves, and take it for granted, that Matters are, or ought to be, all the World over, exactly the same with what they see them at home; and all that differ from them in *Customs* or *Opinion*, they look upon with *Pity* or *Disdain*; and allow no better Names to, than *Ignorant* and *Unciviliz'd*, *Wild* and *Barbarous*. They live in perfect Slavery to local Laws, and the Vogue of that Village or City where they have dwelt ever since they were hatch'd; and this they do, not only in a quiet Compliance, and orderly Obedience to them, (which it is the Duty of every Man, even the ablest and most judicious, to do,)

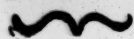


but they conform their Sense and their Soul to them; and are verily persuaded, that what is believ'd and practis'd in their own Town, is the *infallible Standard of Truth*; the only or the best Rule of Virtue; and that all Men's Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, ought to be measur'd by theirs. These sorts of Men belong to the School and District of *Aristotle*; they are positive and peremptory, abounding in their own Sense, and impatient of Contradiction: They look more at Convenience than Truth, and consider what will make most for the Benefit of the World, and turn to best Account, rather than make it their Business to find Things as they really are, and recommend what is best in itself. This Class consists of infinite Subdivisions, great Variety of Attainments and Degrees; the uppermost and most capable among them, are such as sit at Helm, and govern the World, those that hold Empires and Kingdoms in their Hand, and either give Commands, or counsel those that do.

In the third and highest Order, are the Men blest with a lively, clear, and penetrating Wit; a sound, solid, and stable Judgment; that do not content themselves with bare Hearsay, nor set up their Rest in general and receiv'd Opinions; that suffer not their Minds to be prepossessed and won over by the publick Vogue, nor are at all kept in Awe, or afraid to oppose and dissent from the common Cry; as being very well satisfied, how many Cheats there are abroad in the World, and that some Things, no better than Falshood and Jest at the bottom, have been entertain'd, approv'd, extol'd, nay, even reverenc'd and ador'd. For such
were

were the greatest part of the old Philosophy and Physick, such the Divinations, and Oracles, and all the Idolatry and Trumpery of the Pagan Worship; which prevail'd, even in the most refin'd Countries, for many Generations together, and kept Mankind in Slavery to most wicked and miserable Delusions. These Men therefore are for bringing every thing to the Light, fathoming it to the Bottom, entring into mature and impartial Deliberation, without Passion or Prejudice; searching into its abstrusest Causes, its most secret Motives and Springs, and tracing them up to their first Head. They had much rather continue under the Uneasiness of Doubt and Dissatisfaction, and suspend their Assent for a while, than run themselves into an Error, and take up false Confidences, and strong Persuasions of Things, which they have no sufficient Ground to believe or affirm: For that is the Effect of Laziness or Littleness of Soul; grudging the Pains, or wanting the Courage to examine fairly; of Easiness and Credulity, of an unsettled Judgment, or a rash and hasty Determination. These, alas! are but very few; and may be reckon'd *Retainers* to *Socrates* and *Plato*: They are grave and sober, modest and reserv'd; they have a greater Respect to Truth, and the Reality of Things, than the Usefulness and Convenience of them; and had much rather inform themselves and others rightly, than entertain or propagate a Mistake, which might tend to their Service and Advantage. Now if these have good Moral Dispositions withal; if all the Accomplishments already mention'd, be crown'd with Integrity, and Probity, and virtuous Living, they are then wise in-

Book I.



deed, the very Persons whose Character we are now enquiring after, and such as this whole Treatise is intended to make Men. But we must not expect the World should pay them all that Deference which is their due. For they disoblige Mankind by forsaking the common Road, dissenting from their receiv'd Notions and Rules; making new and troublesome Discoveries, and not swallowing all that is brought to them without Chewing. This makes the Vulgar look upon them with a very jealous Eye, as dangerous Persons; and to distinguish them by the Titles of *Fanciful Men*, *Virtuosi*, and *Philosophers*, in a particular and abusive Sense of the Word.

Now the First of these Classes is abundantly more numerous than the Second; and so likewise the Second proportionably than the Third. Those of the First, and those of the last Order, the lowest and the sublimest Souls, never trouble the World at all, nor make any Clutter or Disturbance. The one are unqualify'd and unable, they are beneath, and want Strength to do it: The other are as much above it, too Wise, and too Great, to descend to any Troubles of that kind. They have a Sufficiency and Firmness in their own Mind, and are not concern'd for Things not worth their Care. Those of the middle Rank make all the Bustle and Noise; the Disputes, and Distractions, and Publick Commotions, are all owing to them. Their Condition and Temper disposes them to it, which is positive and conceited, full of Vanity and Presumption; always in Action, and never suffering any Thing else to be at Rest. Those of the lowest Degree, are the very Dregs and Settling

ting of Mankind, the Sink and Refuse of the World; which, like the Lees, falls to the bottom of its own Accord; and may be compared to the Element of Earth, which hath nothing to do, but to receive all that comes, and bear all that is cast upon it from Above. The Second Stage is like the Region of the Air, where all those Meteors are form'd, which crack about our Ears, and produce the Changes of Seasons and Weather, and all the Alterations that affect this lower World; and when they have terrify'd us with dreadful Noises and Expectations, at last dissolve, and fall down upon the Earth. Those of the highest Quality are like the Firmament, those Æthereal and higher Regions, not far distant from Heaven it self, which are always clear and serene, peaceable and pure.

This Difference between some Men and others, is in some degree owing to Nature, and the Original Disposition; the first Composition and Temperament of the Brain; which makes a mighty difference according to the predominance of Moist and Hot, and the several Proportions, in which each of these Qualities are mix'd: For the Minds of Men, and their Understandings, will vary wonderfully, and they will be Judicious, Smart, Valiant; or Weak, Dull, and Cowards, according to the laying of these Foundations at first. But then the Building upon that Groundwork is the Business of Instruction and Discipline; Experience, and getting acquainted with the World. So that these Distinctions are partly Artificial and Acquir'd too, and a Man's own Industry and Observation is of great Use, to disabuse his Mind, and bring it
to

Book I.

to a manly Sense of Things. I add upon this Occasion, that we shall deceive our selves extremely, if we suppose any of these Classes confin'd to particular Professions or Denominations of Men; for there are some of all sorts in all Circumstances and Characters; High and Low, Learned and Ignorant, Good and Bad; some of the meanest Souls in the Gown, and some of the last and most exalted Spirits in high Shoes; some of slender Capacities, but entirely Virtuous; and some of wonderful natural Endowments, who are Monsters of Vice. So that indeed, as the Differences themselves admit of great Variety, that of the several Degrees under each Division, and the Dispositions of the Persons so distinguish'd, is infinite and unconceivable.

2.
*Another
Distinction.*

There is also another Distinction sometimes made between Men, with regard to the Abilities and internal Accomplishments of the Mind: For some are able to make their own Way, beat out a Passage where there was no Path, no Light before; and are so become their own Masters in Virtue and Wisdom. These are happy Men indeed; Men of the largest Size; and there are but few to whom Nature hath been so partially bountiful. Others have need of Assistance; and of these again there are two Sorts. Some only want Information; if you do but light them, and shew them it is sufficient; they will follow readily of themselves. But others require more Help; a Torch and a Guide is not enough for them; they have need to be supported, and taken by the Hand: A kind Friend to draw and pull them forward, and a Spur sometimes to quicken them in their

Pace.

Pace. As for those, whom Nature hath furnish'd so ill, that they are incapable of Instruction and Amendment, (which is the Case of some in the lowest Class;) or them who have corrupted Nature; and are grown restiff and intractable; (which is but too visible in many of the Second Class,) I mention them not; for they (like Beasts that will neither lead nor drive) can only be left to their own Ruin; desperate, fool-hardy Wretches, of whom no Account at all is to be made, nor any Good to be expected.

C H A P. XLIV.

The Third Distinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, Offices, and Relations.

THIS *Accidental Distinction*, which regards the State of Life wherein Men are placed, the Offices they execute, and the Relations they mutually bear to one another, is grounded upon the Two great Principles, and Fundamental Supports of all human Society, which are, Commanding and Obeying, Power and Subjection, a Superior and an Inferior Station. * For were it not for Government and Obedience, all this goodly Fa-brick would fall to Pieces. This Distinction I shall first endeavour to represent to you in the gross, by the following Table.

* Imperio & Obsequio omnia constant.

The First
and gene-
ral Divi-
sion.

1. Private,
which ex-
tends to

1. Families and House-
hold Government;
and here the mu-
tual Relations are
contracted Four
Ways; and the
Authority is of
Four Sorts.

1. Conjugal, between the
Husband and Wife;
This Relation is the
Source and Root of all
Human Society.

2. Paternal, between Pa-
rents and Children;
This is truly and pro-
perly Natural.

3. Herile, and that
of two
Sorts. { 1. Of Lords &
their Slaves.
2. Of Masters
over their
Servants.

4. That of Patrons and
their Dependants, which
is now out of Date, and
scarce any where in
use.

All Power
and Sub-
jection is
either,

2. Publick,
and this a-
gain is ei-
ther,

2. Corporations and Colleges and Civil Commu-
nities, such as are call'd the lesser Communi-
ties, which relates to the several Members of
that particular Body.

1. Supreme, which is
of three Sorts, ac-
cording to the
three known Con-
stitutions:

1. *Monarchy*, or a Govern-
ment vested in one sin-
gle Person.

2. *Aristocracy*, or that
which is administred by
a Few of the best Qua-
lity.

3. *Democracy*, where the
whole Body of the Peo-
ple have some Share in it.

2. Subordinate, which
lies between Persons
that are both Supe-
riors and Inferi-
ors, when consider-
ed in different Re-
spects, and as Places
and Persons may al-
ter the Case; and
this is a Power of

1. Particular Lords in their
several Jurisdictions, and
admitting of many De-
grees.

2. Officers and Magistrates
deputed by the Supreme
Power, of which there
is likewise great Va-
riety.

This

This *Publick Power*, whether the Supreme, or the Subordinate, admits of several Subdivisions, very necessary to be attended to. The Supreme, which, as I observ'd, is of three Sorts, according to the different Constitutions, and Methods of Government, executes and exerts it self in as many different Ways; and each of these according to the different Temper and Management, hath been distinguish'd by the Titles of *Kingly*, *Arbitrary*, and *Tyrannical*. *Kingly*, is when the Supreme Power (be it lodged in one, or in more Hands) is it self strictly obedient to the Laws of Nature, and preserves and protects its Subjects, in their Natural Liberties, and Civil Rights. *All Power, in general, belongs to Kings, particular Properties to Private Men. The King is Universal Lord, and hath a Right Paramount; others have the Right of Lordship and Possession.* *Arbitrary Government* is, when the Sovereign is Lord of Men's Persons and Estates by Right of Conquest; and the Subjects are Govern'd without any regard to Claims, or Laws, or Rights, but in an absolute Way, as Lords use their Slaves. This is rather Bondage and Captivity; *Subjection* is too gentle a Name for it; where Lives are cut off, and Estates seiz'd, and rack'd, and taken away, at Pleasure. *Tyrannical Government* is, where the Sovereign despises and disregards all the Laws of Nature, and Original Rights of Mankind; and so does not only make use of, but abuses the Persons and Possessions of the Subjects; and this differs from the former Arbitrary Way, much after the same manner that a Robber differs from a Fair Enemy in the Field,

Now,

Now, Of these three different Constitutions; the *Monarchical*, but of the three Tempers or Ways of Governing, the *Arbitrary*, hath been observed to be the most Ancient, and best Calculated of any, for Grandeur, Continuance, and Splendor. Thus it was with the *Affyrian*, *Persian*, *Ægyptian*, and, at present, that of *Æthiopia*, (the most Ancient of any) *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, *Turkey*, and *Peru*. But the best and most natural Estate is, that manner of Government which we call *Kingly*, according to our late distinction of it. The Famous *Aristocracies* were that of the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore, and that of the *Venetians* and *States of Holland* at this Day. The *Democracies* were *Rome*, *Athens*, *Carthage*; but the Government of all these, as to its Temper and Method of Administration, was what we call *Kingly*.

3.
Of parti-
cular Lords

The *Publick Power*, which is Subaltern, or Subordinate, is lodg'd in particular Lords; and these are of several Sorts and Degrees, according to their respective Tenures and Capacities. But the most considerable are Five.

1. *Lords Tributary*, who only owe Tribute, and nothing else.

2. *Feudatary Lords*, who hold their Lands in Fee.

3. *Simple Vassals*, who owe Fealty and Homage for their Fee: These three may be Sovereign themselves too.

4. *Liege Vassals*, that besides Fealty and Homage owe Personal Suit and Service, and so cannot be truly Sovereign.

5. *Natural Subjects*, whether Vassals in Fee or in Cens, or in any other Tenure and Capacity; these

owe

owe Subjection and Obedience, and cannot be exempted from the Power of their Sovereign Lord, and yet are Lords themselves.

The *Publick Subordinate Power*, which consists in Offices under, and Proper Officers employ'd by, the Supreme Power, is of several Sorts; but may be reduc'd to Five Degrees, with regard to the Distinctions of *Honour* and *Power*, which belong to, or may direct us in the Consideration of them.

1. The First and lowest Sort is that of *Publick Executioners*; such as give the last Stroke, and finish upon Criminals what the Courts of Justice have awarded and begun. These, however necessary, have yet somewhat so shocking in their Employment, that it hath generally been look'd upon as Odious and Scandalous, and the Persons in that Office, not suffer'd, in many Places, to dwell within the City.

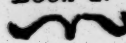
2. The Second are Men that are neither Honourable nor Dishonourable upon the Account of their Post, such as *Sergeants*, *Trumpeters*, and the like.

3. The Third Sort have Honour and Respect, indeed, by Vertue of their Office, but no Authority by way of Cognizance or Power; such are *Notaries*, *Receivers*, *Secretaries*, and the like.

4. The Fourth have not an empty Honour only, but Power and Cognizance, and yet not any Jurisdiction, properly so call'd; such are the *King's Council*, for Example; who may examine Publickly, but can determine or give final Issue to nothing.

5. The last have Jurisdiction, properly so call'd, and, by Vertue of this, they have all the rest. And
These

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 These only, in Strictness of Speech, are *Magistrates*; which may be distinguish'd several Ways, particularly into these Five Sorts, each of which is Two-fold.

1. Mayors, Senators, Judges.
Colonels, &c. Generals, Judges.
 2. In Politicks or Civil Government.
In Military Matters.
 3. In Questions and Cases of Property and Right.
In Criminal Cases, or Tryals of Offenders.
 4. Offices Titular, Fix'd, and Hereditary.
Offices in Particular Commission.
 5. Officers Perpetual, of which Nature it is fit
that there should be fewest, and those only
of the least Consequence.
- Officers Temporal, or Removable, such as all
of the Highest Importance ought to be.

*Of the Conditions and Degrees of Men
particularly, according to the foregoing
Table.*

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT is necessary to observe upon this Occasion, that the several Divisions of this Table, and the Distinction of those Powers, and their respective Dependencies upon, and under, them, (beginning at those which are Private and Domestick) are mention'd here with no other Design, than to give a distinct View of the several States and Conditions of Men; It being the Intention of this Present Book,

Book, only to know Man *in all his Capacities*. And therefore a great Part of what might be expected upon the Head of *Power* and *Subjection*, the Reader must be content to wait for, till we come to the Third and last Part of this Treatise: Where, under the Head of *Justice*, these several Characters and Capacities will come under our Consideration again; and the several Duties and Virtues required upon their Account will be specified and explained. But, before we enter upon any of them in particular, it may not be amiss to premise somewhat briefly, concerning *Command* and *Obedience* in general. These being the reciprocal Exercises of the Relations here mention'd. The Two Foundations and Principal Causes of all that Variety of Circumstances, in which Mankind have been already described.

C H A P. XLV.

Of Command and Obedience.

THESE, as I said, are the Ground-work upon which all Human Society is built; And the many different Conditions, Professions, and Relations, that go to making it up, do all arise from, and depend upon, them. These two are *Relative Terms*; they mutually regard, produce, preserve and support each other; and are equally necessary in all Companies and Communities of Men; but are, notwithstanding, liable to Envy and Opposition, Misrepresentation and Complaint; All which are the na-

tural and constant Effects, even of that, without which we are not able to subsist. The discontented Populace would reduce their Sovereign to the Condition of a Car-Man; The Ambition of Monarchs would represent him greater than a God. In *Command* is imply'd Dignity, Difficulty (these two commonly go together,) Goodness, Ability, and all the Characters and Qualities of Grandeur.

The *Command* it self, that is, the Sufficiency, the Courage, the Authority, and other Qualifications of it, are deriv'd from above, and the Gift of God. * *Empire and Dominion are bestowed by the Divine Appointment, and there is no Power but of God* (says the Apostle to the same Purpose.) From whence it was that *Plato* said, God did not place some Men over others, that is, not Mere Men, and such as were of the Common Sort and Vulgar Qualifications; but the Persons whom he set apart, and exalted for Government, were such as exceeded others; were more finished, eminent for some singular Virtue, and distinguishing Gift of Heaven; in short, were somewhat more than Men, and such as former Ages gave the Title of *Heroes* to.

Obedience is a Matter of Benefit and Advantage; of Ease and Necessity; the Obeying well, is of the two, more conducive to the Publick Peace and Safety, than the Commanding wisely; and the Consequences of withstanding and refusing the Commands of our Superiors, or the complying with them Imperfectly and Negligently, are much more Dangerous and Destructive, than Ill and Im-

* Imperium non nisi divino fato datur. *Rom. xiii. 1.*

proper Commands themselves are, or want of Skill to Govern. Just as in the Case of a Married Life, the Husband and Wife are equally obliged to Constancy of Affection and Fidelity to the Bed; and the Words in which they solemnly engage for this are the very same for both Parties; the same Ceremonies and Formalities to signify and confirm it; but yet the Consequences are by no means equal, but the Mischiefs of Disloyalty are incomparably more, and greater in an Adulterous Wife, than an Adulterous Husband: So likewise *Commanding* and *Obeying* are equally Duties, and necessary in all manner of Societies which unite Men to one another; but yet the Disobedience of the Subject draws much greater Inconveniences after it, than the Unskilfulness or the real Faults of the Governor. Several States and Kingdoms have held out a long Course, and been reasonably Prosperous and Flourishing, under, not only Ignorant, but very wicked Princes and Magistrates, by the mere Force of the Unity, and Compliance, and ready Obedience of the Subjects. Which agrees well with the Answer made by a Wise Man to that Question, "How it came to pass, that the Republick of *Sparta* was so remarkably Flourishing? And whether it proceeded from the Wisdom and good Conduct of their Governors? Nay, (said he) I impute it not to their Princes Commanding well, but to the Subjects Obeying well. But when the People break their Yoak, or throw it off, and refuse Obedience, there is no Remedy but such a State must be ruin'd, and fall to the Ground.



C H A P. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

1. **N**Otwithstanding the State of *Marriage* be antecedent to any other, of the greatest Antiquity, and the highest Importance; the very Foundation and Fountain of all Human Society, (for *Families* first, and then *Commonwealths* spring out of it; according to that Observation of *Cicero*, **The First Union and nearest Relation is between Man and Wife; this is the Beginning of Cities, the Nursery and first Plantation of all Publick Communities*) yet it hath had the Ill-Fortune to be disesteem'd and run down by several Persons of considerable Wit and Character, who have traduc'd it, as a Condition beneath Men of Understanding, and drawn up several formal Objections against it, in particular these that follow.

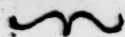
2.
Objections
against
Marriage.

First of all, they tell you, the Covenants and Obligations they enter into by it, are unreasonable and unjust; we may call it a *Band of Union*; but it is no better than the *Chains* and *Fetters of a Captive*. For what Confinement can be more insupportable, than that by which a Man stakes himself down; and becomes a Slave as long as he lives, to Care and Trouble, and the Humours of another Person? For this is the Consequence, if the Couple are unsuccessful, and unsuitable in their Tem-

* *Prima Societas in Conjugio est, quod principium Urbis, seminarium Reipublicæ. Cic. de Offic. Lib. 1.*

pers; that there is no Remedy, but a Man must stand by his Bargain, be it never so bad, and continue wretched without any other possible Cure but Death. Now what can be more contrary to Equity and Justice, than that the Folly of one half Hour should poison the whole Term of all his Years to come? That a Mistake in one's Choice, or perhaps a Trick, by which he was trapann'd into this Condition, but, to be sure, an act of Obedience many times to the Commands of a Parent, or Compliance with the Advice of a Friend; a submitting one's own Judgment and Inclination to the Pleasure and Disposal of other's: What Reason (say they) is there that any of these things should engage a Man to perpetual Misery and Torment? Were not the other Noose about the Neck the wiser Choice of the Two? and to end one's Days and Troubles immediately by leaping headlong from some Rock into the Sea, than thus to launch out into an Eternity of Pains; to have a Hell upon Earth; and always live and lie by a Storm of Jealousy and Ill-nature, of Rage and Madness, of Obstinacy and Affectation, and intractable Perverseness, and other vile Qualities in which the Sex abounds? Hence it was the Saying of one Author, "That whoever first invented the Marriage-Knot, had contrived a very fair and colourable, but withal, a most effectual Expedient for taking a severe Revenge upon Mankind: A Snare or Net to catch Fools and Brutes in, and then put them to a long and lingering Death. And of another, "That for a wise Man to marry a Fool, or a Woman of Sense a Coxcomb, was like tying the Living to the Dead;

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“ that so by the Extremity of Cold from the Car-
 “ cals, the Body might chill and languish, till at
 “ last it expire; which is of all capital Punish-
 “ ments the most barbarous, that ever Tyrants
 “ have been able to invent.

The Second Accusation imports, That *Marriage* corrupts and adulterates generous and great Minds, by softening and abating, nay utterly enfeebling and dissolving their Life and Vigor, by the little Dalliances, and Flatterings, and Wheedles of a Person, of whom one is fond; by Tenderneſs for one's Children, Care and Management of Domestick Affairs, and Sollicitude to provide for, and raise one's Family in the World. What lamentable Instances of this Effeminacy are *Sampson*, and *Solomon*, and *Mark Anthony*? whose Falls stand in Story, like so many noble Ruins, to put us in mind of that Enemy, with some Indignation, that undermin'd and demolish'd what Nature had made so strong. If then there must be Marrying, it is fit, (say they) that this should be left to Fellows that have more Body than Soul; let them go on securely, being so well qualified, and having so little to hazard; and the Cares and Burden of the World are indeed properest for them; for such mean and low Considerations are Employments just of a Size with their Capacities. But as for those, whom Nature hath been so liberal to in another kind, and given them good Sense, and noble Souls, capable of greater and better Things, is it not pity to shackle and bind them down to the World and the Flesh, as you do Beasts to the Manger? Nay, even among Beasts, some Distinctions are made too; for those among them

them that are most esteem'd for Service and Courage, (as among Dogs and Horses particularly) are kept up at a distance, and forbidden all Approaches of the other Sex; others of less Value serving to breed upon very well. Accordingly among Mankind, those that are devoted to the most venerable and holy Professions, the Service of the Altar, and a recluse Life, both Men and Women; such whose Stations oblige them to be the most excellent Part of the World, the Flower and Ornament of Christian Religion, Clergy and Monastics, are forbidden by the Church of *Rome* ever to marry at all. And the Reason most certainly is this, that *Marriage* obstructs Wisdom and Virtue, calls off the Mind, and gives it too strong and too frequent a Diversion, clips its Wings, and checks its noblest Flights. For the Contemplation of high, and heavenly, and divine Objects, is by no means consistent with the Clutter, and Hurry, and sordid Cares of Family-concerns: Upon which Account it is that the Apostle, who commands *Continency* even in *Marriage*, has preferr'd absolute *Celibacy* before it. *Marriage* perhaps may have the Advantage in Point of Profit and Convenience, but the Honour and the Virtue (they tell you) is confessedly on the other side.

Besides; it confounds Mens Measures, and defeats noble and pious Intentions and Undertakings. St. *Augustin* gives an Account to this purpose, That he and some other Friends of his, some whereof were married Men, having formed a Design of retiring from the Town, and all Conversation with the World, into some Solitude, that so they might have nothing to employ their Thoughts but the

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Study of Wisdom and Virtue; their whole Scheme was immediately interrupted, and utterly quash'd, by the Interposition of their *Wives*. And another wife Man hath given us his Opinion, " That if
 " Men could prevail with themselves to give over
 " all Conversation with Women, Angels would
 " certainly visit and keep them Company.

Once more; *Marriage* is a great Hindrance to Mens Improvement; particularly it keeps them at home; and cuts them off from the Opportunities of Travelling, and conversing with foreign Countries, which is really a great Accomplishment, and a mighty Convenience, to learn Wisdom one's self, and to teach it to others, and to communicate what we have seen and known, to those who want the same Opportunities. In short; *Marriage* does not only cramp up, and depress great Parts, and great Souls, but it deprives the World of many noble Designs, Works of Munificence, and Charity, and Publick Good; it renders a Man incapable of serving his Country, and attempting such Things, as he can give no Entertainment to the Thoughts of, in the Embraces of a tender Wife, and his Little ones round about him. For these need and require the Care and Preservation of himself; and serve for an Excuse; at least they cool his Courage, to Actions that are brave, if at the same time they seem desperate, or are manifestly dangerous. And is it not a noble Sight now, to see a Man that is fit to be at the Helm, trifling away his Time at home, playing and telling Stories with his Wife and Children in the Chimney-corner? Is it not Ten Thousand Pities, that one who is capable of governing and
 direct-

directing a World, should be entirely buried in Secresy, lost to the Publick, and taken up with the Concerns of a single Family? Upon this Consideration it was, that a Great Man, when his Friends moved a Match to him, made Answer, *That he was born to command Men, and not one pretty little Toy of a Woman; to advise and give Rules to Kings and Princes, and not to Boys and Girls.*

To that Part of these Objections, which carry any serious Argument, (for a great deal of them is Rallery only) we may answer as follows; That Human Nature must be considered, as it really is, A State not capable of absolute Perfection; nor was such a Life here ever intended for us, as we should have nothing in it to be found fault with, nothing that should cross, or give us cause to wish it otherwise. Our very Remedies must make us a little sick, even when they are promoting our Health and Recovery; and every Convenience carries its Abatement, and is clogg'd and encumber'd with some Inconvenience inseparable from it. These are *Evils*, allow it, but they are *necessary Evils*. And if the Case be not well in all Points, yet this is the best of it; for there is no other way possible to be devised for the preserving and propagating Mankind, but what would make the Matter infinitely worse, and be liable to more and greater Evils. Some indeed, (as *Plato* in particular) would fain have rooted out these Thorns, and refin'd upon the Point, by inventing other Methods for the Continuance of the Species; but after all their Hammering and Polishing, those Conceits at last prov'd mere Castles in the Air,

 Air, Things perfectly impracticable, and such as if once receiv'd could never have lasted; and besides, it appear'd evidently, that tho' they had been practis'd and approv'd, yet even these were loaded too with a great many Inconveniences, and sore Difficulties. The Truth is, Men create their own Uneasiness, and make all the Hardship to themselves; their Vices and Intemperances, the Violence and the Contrariety of their Passions, are their Tormentors; and then they blame the State in which they feel and suffer those Torments. But that is clear, and free from Guilt, and so is every thing but *Man* himself, who turns every thing against himself, and knows not how to use any Condition as he ought, and to the best Advantage. But those that are Philosophers indeed, will go a great deal farther: They will tell you, these very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendering it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeship to learn it, a daily and domestick Exercise to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wisdom, when People reproached him with the peevish and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himself with Constancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad, and to make all the Uneasinesses of Fortune go down very glibly. But this, tho' it want not a great deal of good Sense at the Bottom, and may be very useful to Men of good Dispositions, and Capacity enough to serve themselves of it, is yet such an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that they who con-

tinue

tinue single do best consult their own private Ease and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reserve one's self for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all those Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expose us to. (And it is in this Sense, and for these Purposes only, that St. *Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which those that make use of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to consider:) Yet after all, with what Face can any Christian speak in Disparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes Profession of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it? For, when all is done, these are unanswerable, and they ought to be esteem'd very Sacred Arguments, such as should command our highest Veneration and Respect; That it is of God's own Institution, that it was his first Ordinance, that he appointed it in Paradise, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Human Nature was in all its Glory. These are four weighty Considerations, and ought to recommend, at least, to deliver it from diminishing Reflections, when they are not capable of a sober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himself was pleas'd to honour and approve it with his Presence, to work his first Miracle in favour of it, and the Persons engag'd in it; nay, that he hath condescended to make use of this, as a Figure of that most Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt him and his Church; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being styl'd a *Mystery*, a great and divine *Mystery*. Ephes. v.

It

Book I.

4.

*It is a
great Good,
or a great
Evil.*

It must be acknowledg'd, indeed, that *Marriage* is by no means an indifferent Thing: It admits of no middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, and is generally the greatest Happiness, or the greatest Calamity of Human Life; a State of much Tranquility, or of insupportable Trouble; a Paradise or a Hell. If well and wisely undertaken, it is full of Sweetness and Pleasure; if ill and unsuccessfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter and fatal, and most painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Instance, make good the Truth of that Proverb, That * *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.*

5.

*When
Good, it is
exceeding-
ly so.*

Marriage is a Work compos'd of a great many Parts, and a great many Qualities must meet together, to render it Beautiful and Uniform. Abundance of Considerations are necessary in order to it; more than respect merely the Persons of those to be concern'd in it. For tho' it be commonly said, *Men marry for themselves alone*, yet there ought to be great Regard had to Posterity; the Family we go into, the Alliances we make, the Circumstances and Condition of the People are of great Weight. And these and other Respects must be carefully attended to: But above all, the Temper and the Virtues, which ought to be the principal Objects and Motives of our Affection. The want of proceeding in this manner, is the very reason why we see so few happy Matches. And the extreme Scarcity of such, is a sign that *Marriage* is highly valuable: For it is a Fate common to all great Posts, that they are difficult, and

* *Homo Homini aut Deus aut Lupus.*

very

very seldom discharg'd as they ought to be. Kingly Power and Government is beset with Cares and Difficulties, and very few that aspire to it, are strictly Virtuous and Successful in the Administration. But the true Ground of failing so frequently in this Point, is to be fetch'd from the Licentiousness and Debauchery, the Unruly Passions and Exorbitant Humours of Mankind, and not from any thing in the State and Institution it self. From hence it is, that we find experimentally, such as are of good, and quiet, and virtuous Dispositions, plain and mean Persons, taste more of the Comforts, and enjoy themselves more in it, than others of higher Quality and Attainments. Sensual Desires, and the Delights of the World, have taken less hold of such; they are less nice and curious, and have not so much leisure to teaze and torment themselves. Men that are debauch'd, and love to live at large, corrupt in their Manners, troublesome in their Conversation, whimsical and particular in their Humours, are not cut out for this Condition of Life, nor can ever expect to be tolerably easy under it.

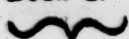
Marriage is a Wise and Prudent Bargain, a Holy and Inviolable League, an honourable Agreement. If this Knot be well ty'd, there is not in the whole World any thing more beautiful, more lovely, more desirable: It is a sweet and noble Society, full of Constancy and mutual Trust; full of infinite Good Offices and reciprocal Obligations; most excellent in their own Nature, most useful to the Parties themselves, and of general Service and Benefit to Mankind. This is a Conversation, Amorous, not of Love and sensual Delight, but

6.

A general Description of it.

of

Book I.



of chaste Affection and entire Friendship. For *Love* in these two Senses is a very different thing, and the one as distant from the other, as the feverish and diseased Heat of a Sick Man is from the natural Warmth of a good Temper and healthful Constitution. *Marriage* challenges to it self Affection and Advantage, Justice and Honour, Constancy and Pleasure. Call its Fruitions flat and insipid if you please, but yet they are solid and substantial, agreeable and universal: They must needs be so indeed, because they are lawful and innocent; free from the Censure of others, and the Reproaches of one's own Mind. What the World calls *Love*, aims at nothing but Delight; it hath perhaps somewhat of Sprightliness, and is of a quicker and more poignant Relish; but this cannot hold long, and we plainly see it cannot, by so few Matches succeeding well, where Beauty and Amorous Desires were at the bottom of them: There must be something more solid to make us happy. A Building that is to stand for our whole Lives, ought to be set upon firmer Foundations; and these Engagements are serious Matters, such as deserve, and it is Pity but they should have our utmost Discretion employ'd upon them. That hot Love bubbles and boils in our Breasts for a while, but it is worth nothing, and cannot continue; and therefore it very often happens, that these Affairs are very fortunately manag'd by a Third Hand.

7.
Another
more parti-
cular one.

This Description is only Summary, and in general Terms. But, that the Case may be more perfectly and particularly understood, it is fit we take Notice

Notice, that there are two things Essential and absolutely Necessary to this State of Life, which, however contrary and inconsistent they may at First Sight appear, are yet in Reality no such Matter. These are *Equality* and *Inequality*; the Former concerns them as Friends, and Companions, and upon the Level; the Other, as a Superior and an Inferior. The *Equality* consists in that entire Freedom, and unreserved Communication, whereby they ought to have all Things in common; their Souls, Inclinations, Wills, Bodies, Goods, are mutually from thenceforward made over; and neither of them hath any longer a peculiar and distinct Propriety exclusive of the other. This, in some Places, is carry'd a great deal farther, and extends to Life and Death too; insomuch, that as soon as the Husband is dead, the Wife is oblig'd to follow him without Delay. There are some Countries, where the Publick and National Laws require them to do so; and they are oftentimes so zealous in their Obedience, that where Polygamy is indulged, if a Man leaves several Wives behind him, they try for it publicly, and enter up their Claims, which of them shall obtain the Honour and Privilege of sleeping with their Spouse (that is the Expression they soften it by) and upon this Occasion, each urges in her own behalf, that she was the best belov'd Wife, or had the last Kiss of him, or brought him Children, or the like, so to gain the Preference to themselves.



* *Th' Ambitious Rivals eagerly pursue
Death, as their Crown to Love and Virtue due;
Prefer their Claims, and glory in Success:
Their Lords first Nuptials are courted less:
Approach his Pile with Pomp, in Triumph burn,
And mingle Ashes in one Common Urn.*

In other Places, where no Laws enjoin'd any such thing, it hath been resolv'd and practis'd, by mutual Stipulation and voluntary Agreement, made privately between the Parties themselves; which was the Case of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. But omitting this, which, in truth, is a wicked, barbarous and unreasonable Custom, the Equality which is, and ought to be, between Man and Wife, extends it self to the Administration of Affairs, and Inspection over the Family in common; from whence the Wife hath very justly the Title of Lady or Mistress of the House and Servants; as well as the Husband that of Master and Lord over them. And this joint Authority of theirs over their own Private Family is a Picture in little of that Form of Publick Government, which is term'd an *Aristocracy*.

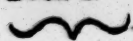
8. *Inequality.* That Distinction of Superior and Inferior, which makes the *Inequality*, consists in this: That the Husband hath a Power and Authority over his Wife, and the Wife is plac'd in Subjection to her

* Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva sequatur
' Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse moti:
Ardent Victrices, & flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntq; suis Ora perusta viris.

Husband.

Husband. The Laws and Governments of all Nations throughout the World agree in this Preeminence; but the Nature and the Degrees of it are not every where the same: For these differ in Proportion, as the Laws and Customs of the Place differ. Thus far the Consent is Universal; that the Woman, how noble soever her Fortunes, or any other Personal Advantages, is not upon any Consideration exempted from Subjection to her Husband. This *Superiority* and *Inferiority* may well be general, and be the Opinion of All, when it is so plainly the Condition of All. For, in truth, it is the Work of Nature, and founded upon that Strength, and Sufficiency, and Majesty of the One Sex, and the Weakness, and Softness, and Incapacities of the Other, which prove it not equally qualify'd, nor ever design'd for Government. But there are many other Arguments besides, which Divines fetch from Scripture upon this Occasion, and prove the Point indeed substantially by them. For *Revelation* here hath back'd and enforc'd the Dictates of *Reason*, by telling us expressly, that *Man* was made first; that he was made by God alone, and entirely by him, without any Creature of a like Form contributing any thing towards his Being. That he was created on purpose for the Pleasure and Glory of God, his Head; that he was made after the Divine Image and Likeness; a Copy of the Great Original above, and perfect in his kind: For Nature always begins with something in its just Perfection: Whereas *Woman* was created in the Second Place; and not so properly Created as Formed; made after *Man*;

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taken out of his Substance; * Fashioned according to that Pattern, and so his Image, and only the Copy of a Copy; made occasionally, and for particular Uses, to be a Help, and a Second to the Man; who is himself the Principal and Head, and therefore She is upon all these Accounts *Imperfect*. Thus we may argue from the Order of Nature; But the Thing is confirmed yet more by the Relation given us of the *Corruption and Fall of Man*. For the *Woman* was first in the Transgression; and sinned of her own Head; *Man* came in afterwards, and by her Instigation. The *Woman* therefore, who was last in Good, in order of Nature, and Occasional only; but foremost in Evil, and the Occasion of that to *Man*, is most justly put in Subjection to him, who was before her in the Good, and after in the Evil.

9.
The Power
of the Husband.

Dionys.
Halic. l. 2.

This *Conjugal Superiority* and Power hath been very differently restrain'd or enlarg'd. In some Places, where the Paternal Authority hath been so, This hath likewise extended to Capital Punishment, and made the Husband Judge and Disposer of Life and Death. Thus it was with the *Romans* particularly: For the Laws of *Romulus* gave a Man Power to kill his Wife in Four Cases, (*viz.*) *Adultery, Putting False Children upon him, False Keys, and Drinking of Wine*. Thus *Polybius* tells us, that the *Greeks*; and *Cæsar* says, that the *Old Gauls* gave Husbands a Power of Life and Death. In Other

* See 1 Corinth. xi. 7, 8. The *Man* is the Image and Similitude of God; but the *Woman* is the Similitude of the *Man*. So *εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοία* ought to be render'd in the Sense of *ὁμοίωμα* similitum; not *Glory*, as we read it, which is foreign to the rest of the Words and the whole Scope of that Argument.

Parts,

Parts, and in these already mention'd, since those Times, their Power hath been brought into a narrower Compass. But almost every where it is taken for granted, that the *Authority* of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife, implies thus much: A right to direct and controul the Actions, to confirm or disannul the Resolutions and Vows of the Wife; to correct her, when she does amiss, by Reproofs and Confinement; (for *Blows* are below a Man of Honour to give, and not fit for a Woman to receive;) and the Wife is obliged to conform to the Condition, to follow the Quality, the Country, the Family, the Dwelling, and the Degree of her Husband; to bear him Company wheresoever he goes, in Journeys and Voyages, in Banishment and in Prison, in Flight and Necessity; and, if he be reduc'd to that hard Fortune, to wander about, and to beg with him. Some celebrated Examples of this kind in Story are, *Sulpitia*, who attended her Husband *Lentulus*, when he was proscribed, and an Exile in *Sicily*. *Erithrea*, who went along with her Husband *Phalaris* into Banishment. *Ipsicrate*, the Wife of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who kept her Husband Company, when he turn'd Vagabond, after his Defeat by *Pompey*. Some add, Tacit^{us} that they are bound to follow them into the Wars, and Foreign Countries, when they are sent abroad upon Expeditions, or go under any Publick Character. The Wife cannot sue, or be sued, in Matters of Right and Property; all Actions lie against the *Husband*, and are to be commenced in his Name; and if any thing of this kind be any where done, it must be with the Leave and Authority of her Husband, or by particular Appointment of the

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Judge, if the Husband shall decline or refuse it; neither can she, without express Permission from the Magistrate, appeal from, or be a Party in any Cause against her Husband.

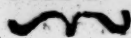
10.
*Different
Laws a-
bout it*

*Of Polyga-
my and
Divorce.*

Marriage is not every where alike, nor under the same Limitations; the Laws and Rules concerning it are very different. In some Countries there is a greater Latitude, and more Liberties indulg'd, in Others less. The Christian Religion, which is by much the strictest of any, hath made it very close and strait. It leaves nothing at large, and in our own Choice, but the first Entrance into this Engagement. When once that is over, a Man's Will is made over too, and convey'd away; for the Covenant is subject to no Dissolution, and we must abide by it, whether we are contented with our Terms, or not. Other Nations and Religions, have contrived to make it more Easy, and Free, and Fruitful, by allowing and practising *Polygamy* and *Divorce*; a Liberty of taking Wives and dismissing them again; and they speak hardly of Christianity for abridging Men in these two Particulars, as if it did great Prejudice to Affection and Multiplication by these Restraints, which are the two great Ends of Marriage: For Friendship, they pretend, is an Enemy to all manner of Compulsion and Necessity; and cannot consist with it; but is much more improved, and better maintain'd by leaving Men free, and at large to dispose of themselves. And Multiplication is promoted by the Female Sex, as Nature shews us abundantly in that one Instance of Wolves, who are so extremely Fruitful in the Production of their Whelps, even to the Number of Twelve, or Thirteen at a time ;

time; and in this exceed other Animals of Service and common Use very much, so many of which are kill'd every Day; and so few Wolves; and yet there are notwithstanding fewer of the Breed, Breeders, because fewer She-Wolves, than of any other Species. For, as I said, the true Reason is, because in all those Numerous Litters, there is commonly but one Bitch-Wolf, which for the most Part signifies little, and bears very rarely; the Generation being hindred by the vast Numbers and promiscuous Mixtures of the Males; and so, the much greater part of them die, without ever propagating their Kind at all, for want of a sufficient Proportion of Females, to do it by successfully. It is also manifest, what Advantages of this Nature *Polygamy* produces, by the vast Increase of those Countries where it is allowed; The *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and other Barbarous Nations, (as all their Histories inform us) very usually bringing Armies into the Field, of three or four Hundred Thousand fighting Men. Now the Christian Religion, on the contrary, allows but one to one, and obliges the Parties to continue thus together; though either, nay sometimes Both of them be Barren; which yet perhaps, if allowed to change, might leave a numerous Posterity behind them. But, supposing the very best of the Case, all their Increase must depend upon the Production of one single Woman. And lastly, they reflect upon Christianity, as the occasion of infinite Excesses, Debaucheries, and Adulteries, by this too severe Constraint.

But the true and sufficient Answer to all these Objections is, That the *Christian Religion* does not



consider Marriage upon such Respects as are purely Human, and tend to the Gratification of Natural Appetites, or promote the Temporal Good of Men: It takes quite another Prospect of the Thing, and hath Reasons peculiar to it self, sublime, and noble, and infinitely greater, (as hath been hinted already.) Besides, common Experience demonstrates, that in much the greatest part of Marry'd Persons, what they complain of as Confinement and Constraint, does by no means cool and destroy, but promote and heighten the Affection, and render it more dear and strong, by keeping it more entire and unbroken. Especially in Men of honest Principles, and good Dispositions, which easily accommodate their Humours, and make it their Care and Study to comply with the Tempers of the Person to whom they are thus inseparably united. And as for the Debaucheries and Flyings out alledg'd against us, the only Cause of them is the Dissoluteness of Men's Manners; which a greater Liberty, though never so great, will never be able to correct or put a Stop to. And accordingly we find, that Adulteries were every whit as rife in the midst of Polygamy and Divorce; Witness the whole Nation of the *Jews* in general, and the Example of *David* in particular, who became guilty of this Crime, notwithstanding the Multitude he had of *Wives* and *Concubines* of his own. On the contrary, These Vices were not known for a long while together in other Countries, where neither Polygamy nor Divorce were ever permitted; as in *Sparta*, for Instance, and at *Rome*, for a considerable time after the Founding of that City. It is therefore most foolish and unjust,

just, to asperse *Religion*, and charge that with the Vices of Men, which allows and teaches nothing, but exquisite Purity and strict Continence. Chap. 46.

This Liberty taken in *Polygamy*, (which hath so great an Appearance of Nature to alledge in its behalf) hath yet been very differently managed, according to the several Nations, and the Laws of those Communities, where it was allow'd and practis'd. In some Places, All that are Wives to the same Man, live alike, and in common. Their Degree and Quality, the Respect and Authority is equal, and so is the Condition and Title of their Children too. In other Places there is one particular Wife, who is the Principal, and a sort of Mistress above the rest; the Right of Inheritance is limited to the Children by Her; they engross all the Honours, and Possessions, and Pre-eminences of the Husband after his Death: As for the others, they are lodg'd and maintain'd apart, treated very differently from the former: In some Places they are reputed *Lawful Wives*; in some they are only stiled *Concubines*; and their Children have no Pretension to Titles or Estates; but are provided for by such annual Pensions, or other precarious ways of Subsisting, as the Master of the Family thinks fit to allow them. 11.
*Polygamy
differently
practis'd.*

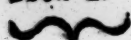
As various have the Practice and the Customs of Men been with regard to *Divorce*: For with some, as particularly the *Hebrews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, they never oblige themselves to alledge the particular Cause of Separation; nor are they allow'd to take a Wife to them a Second time, which they have once divorc'd; So far from it, that they are permitted to Marry again to others. But 12.
*Divorce
differently
practis'd.*

Book I.

now in the *Mahometan Law*, Separation must be appointed by a Judge, and after Legal Process, (except it be done by the free Consent of both Parties) and the Crimes alledg'd against the Woman must be some of so high a Nature, as strike directly at the Root of this Institution, and are destructive and inconsistent with the State of Marriage, or some of the principal Ends of it, such as *Adultery*, *Barrenness*, *Incongruity of Humours*, *Attempts upon the Life of the other Party*; and, after such Separation made, it is lawful for them to be reconcil'd, and cohabit again, as oft as they think fit. The Former of these Methods seems much more prudent and convenient, that so there may be a closer Restraint both upon the Pride and Insolence of Wives, when they lye at Mercy, and may be cast off at Pleasure; and also upon the Humoursome and Peevish Husbands, who will be more apt to check and moderate their Resentments, when there is no Return, nothing to be got by repenting, after once Matters have flown so high, as to provoke and effect a Separation. The Second, which proceeds in a Method of Justice, brings the Parties upon the Publick Stage, exposes their Faults and Follies to the World, cuts them out from Second Marriages; and discovers a great many things, which were much better kept conceal'd. And, in case the Allegation be not fully prov'd; and so they continue oblig'd to cohabit still, after all this mutual Complaining and Disgrace, What a Temptation is here to Poysoning or Murder, to get rid that way of a Partner of the Bed, which in Course of Law cannot be remov'd? And many of these Villanies, no doubt, have been committed, of which the World never had the least Knowledge

Knowledge or Suspicion. As at *Rome* particularly, before Divorce came in use, a Woman who was apprehended for Poisoning her Husband, impeached other Wives, whom she knew to have been guilty of the same Fact; and they again others, till at last Threescore and ten were all attainted and executed for the same Fault, of whom People had not the least Jealousy, till this Discovery was made. But that which seems the worst of all, in the Laws relating to a Married Life, is, that *Adultery* is scarce any where punish'd with *Death*; and all that can be done in that Case, is only *Divorce*, and ceasing to cohabit; which was an Ordinance introduc'd by *Justinian*, one whom his Wife had in perfect Subjection: And no wonder if she made use of that Dominion, (as she really did) to get such Laws enacted, as made most for the Advantage of her own Sex. Now this leaves Men in perpetual Danger of *Adultery*, tempts them to malicious Desires of one another's Death; the Offender that does the Injury is not made a sufficient Example, and the innocent Person that receives the Wrong, hath no Reparation made for it.

Of the Duty of Married Persons, See Book III. Chap. 12.



C H A P. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

1.
*Paternal
Authority.*

THERE are several Sorts, and several Degrees of Authority and Power among Men; some publick, and others private; but not any of them more agreeable to Nature, not any more absolute and extensive, than that of a *Father* over his *Children*, (I chuse to instance in the Father rather than the Mother, because she being herself in a State of Subjection to her Husband, cannot so properly be said to have her Children under her Jurisdiction.) But even this Paternal Authority hath not been at all Times, and in all Parts of the World equal and alike. In some Ages and Places, and indeed of old almost every where, it was universal, and without Restraint: The Life and Death, Estates and Goods, the Liberty and Honour, the Actions and Behaviour of Children was entirely at their Will; they sued and were sued for them, they disposed of them in Marriage; the Labours of the Children redounded to the Parents Profit; nay, they themselves were a kind of *Commodity*; for among the *Romans* we find this Article, in that which was call'd *Romulus his Law*; * *The Right of Parents over Children shall be entire and unlimited; they shall have Power to abdicate and banish,*

Dion. Ha-
licar. lib. 2.
Antiq.

Rom. 1. in
Suif. ff.
de lib. &
posth.

* Parentum in Liberos omne Jus esto, relegandi, vendendi, occidendi.

to sell, and to put them to death. Only it is to be observed, that all Children under three Years old, were excepted out of this Condition, because they could not be capable of offending in Word or Deed, nor to give any just Provocation for such hard Usage. This Law was afterwards confirm'd and renew'd, by the Law of the *Twelve Tables*, which allow'd Parents to sell their Children three times: And the *Persians*, as *Aristotle* tells us; the ancient *Gauls*, as *Cæsar* and *Prosper* agree; the *Muscovites* and *Tartars* might do it four times. There want not some probable Reasons to persuade us, that this Power had some Foundation, or Countenance at least, in the *Law of Nature*; and that Instance of *Abraham* undertaking to slay his Son, hath been made use of, as an Argument to this purpose: For had this been a Thing against his Duty, and such as the Authority of a Father could in no case extend to, he would not (they tell you) ever have consented to it; nor have believed, that this Command had proceeded from God, but rather have imputed it to some Delusion upon his own Mind, if it had been no way reconcilable with Nature; the Laws of which, God had establish'd in the Beginning, and could not be thought so to contradict himself, as by any particular Order, to appoint a thing altogether inconsistent with his own general Institution before. And accordingly it is observable, that *Isaac* never went about to make any Resistance, nor pleaded his own Innocency in Bar to what his Father went about to do; as knowing that he only exerted the rightful Power he had over him. What Force there is in this Argument, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Chap. 47.
Aul. Gel.
lib. 20.
Aristot.
Ethic.
lib. 8.
Cæsar,
lib. 6. de
Bell. Gall.
Prosper
Aquit.
in Epist.
Sigism.

Book I.

mine. It is sufficient for my present Purpose to observe, that allowing all this, yet it does not in any degree take off from the Commendation due to *Abraham's* Faith; for he does not pretend to *Sacrifice* his Son by Virtue of any such *Inherent Right* over him, nor upon any Provocation, or Misdemeanour, which *Isaac* had given him occasion to resent or punish; but purely in Obedience to the Command of Almighty God. The Case does not seem to differ much under the Law of *Moses*; allowing only for some Circumstances, as to the Manner of exercising this Authority, which will be taken notice of by and by. Of this, and no less Extent the *Paternal Power* seems to have been formerly in the greatest Part of the World, and so to have continued till the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. Among the *Greeks* indeed, and the *Ægyptians*, it does not seem to have been altogether so absolute; but even there, if a Father happened to kill his Son unjustly, and without Provocation, the Punishment inflicted for such Barbarity, was no other than being shut up with the dead Body for three Days together.

Diodor.

2.
The Reasons and Effects of it.

Now the Reasons, and the Effects of so great and unlimited a Power being allow'd to Fathers over their Children, (which no doubt was a great Advantage for the Advancement of Virtue, the Improvement of Manners and Education, the restraining, preventing, and chastising Extravagance and Vice, and of great good Consequence to the Publick too) seem to have been such as these.

I.

First, the containing Children in their Duty, begetting and preserving a due Awe and Reverence
in

in their Minds. Then a Regard to several Vices and Enormities, which, though very grievous in themselves, would yet pass unpunish'd, to the great Prejudice of the Publick, if they could be taken cognizance of, and animadverted upon by no other Ways and Persons, but Legal Process, and the Sentence of the Magistrate; for abundance of these must needs escape such Censure, partly because they would be domestick and private, and partly because there would be no body to inform and prosecute. The Parents themselves were not likely to be so officious; the Nearness of the Relation would render it odious, and the Interest of their own Family would restrain them from publishing their own Shame. Or, if they could be suppos'd to bring all they knew of this kind upon the open Stage, yet we know there are many Vices, and Insolences, and Disorders, which the Laws and Justice of Nations are not provided with Punishments for. To all which we may add, that there are many Family-Quarrels between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Sisters, upon the account of dividing Estates and Goods, or several other Things, which, tho' fit to be canvass'd and corrected within a Man's own Walls, would by no means do well to be ripp'd up, and expos'd to the World; and for these, as the *Paternal Authority* is necessary, so it is sufficient to compose and quiet all Parties, and put an End to Differences, that concern single Families only. And it was reasonable for the Law to suppose, that no Father would make ill use of this Power; that Men might very safely be entrusted with it, because of that very tender Affection which Nature inspires all Parents with,

with, such as seems altogether inconsistent with Cruelty, toward their own Off-spring: And this we see the Effect of daily, in the frequent Intercessions made by Fathers, for the releasing or mitigating those Publick Punishments, which they cannot but be sensible are most justly inflicted; there being no greater Torment to any Parent, than to see his Children under Pain or Disgrace. And where these absolute Prerogatives were allow'd, we meet with very few Instances of the exerting their Power, and going to the Extremity of it, without Offences very heinous indeed; so that, in truth, if we regard the Practice, and compare that with the Power itself, we shall have Reason to look upon it as an useful Terror, a Bugbear to keep Children in awe, and fright them into Obedience, rather than any Stretch of Rigour, that was actual, and in good earnest.

3.
Its Decay.

Now this Paternal Authority was gradually lost, and fell to the Ground as it were of itself, (for the Decay of it is, in truth, to be attributed to Disuse, more than to any Law expressly repealing it, or enacting the contrary) and it began most remarkably to decline, when the *Roman* Emperors came to the Government: For from the Time of *Augustus*, or quickly after, it sunk apace, and lost all its Vigor. And upon this Decay, Children grew so stubborn and insolent against their Parents, that *Seneca* in his Address to *Nero*, says, their own Eyes had seen more Parricides punished, in five Years then last past, than there had been for the Space of seven Hundred Years before, that is, from the first Foundation of *Rome*

Lib. 1. de
Clem.

till

till that Time. Till then, if a Father at any time killed his Children, he was called to no Account, nor had any Punishment inflicted upon him for the Fact; as we may gather evidently by the Examples of *Fulvius* the Senator, who slew his Son for being engaged in *Catiline's* Conspiracy; and several other Senators, who proceeded against their Sons, and condemn'd them to Death, by virtue of their own domestick Power, such as *Cassius Trati-* us; or sentenc'd them to perpetual Banishment, as *Manlius Torquatus* did his Son *Syllanus*. There were indeed some Laws afterwards, which appointed, that the Father should bring Informations against the Children that offended, and deliver them over to Publick Justice: And the Judge, in such Cases, was oblig'd to pronounce Sentence as the Father should direct; in which there are some Footsteps of Antiquity. And these Laws, in abridging the Power of the Fathers, proceeded very tenderly, and did not take it away entirely and openly, but with great Moderation, and by halves only. These later Ordinances have some Affinity to the Law of *Moses*, which ordered the stubborn and rebellious Son to be stoned, upon the Complaint of the Parents, without requiring any farther Proof of the Charge than their single Deposition; and provided the Presence and Concurrence of the Magistrate, not so much for Examination and Trial of the Cause, as to prevent the Privacy and Passion, which might attend domestick Punishments, and so to render the Thing more publick, and the Vengeance more exemplary and full of Terror to others. And thus, even according to the *Mosaick* Institution the *Paternal Authority* was more arbitrary

Chap. 47.

Salust. in
Bell. Ca-
tilin.
Valer.
Maxim.

L. inaudi-
tum ad
leg. Corn.
F. l. in
fuis de l.
& posth.
l. 3. Cod.
de pa. po-
test.

Deut. xxi.

Book I.

trary and extensive, than it came to be since the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. But if we descend a little lower, and observe its Decrease under *Constantine the Great*, then under *Theodosius*, and at last under *Justinian*, we shall find it almost totally extinct. Hence it came to pass, that Children took upon them to decline, and peremptorily deny Obedience to their Parents; to refuse them a Part in their Possessions; nay, not to allow them so much as convenient Maintenance and Relief in their Necessities. Hence they had Confidence to enter Actions against them, and implead them in Courts of Judicature; and an indecent, a most scandalous Thing, in truth, it is, to observe how frequent such Suits have been. Some have been so wicked, or so mistaken, as to excuse themselves from *Duty* upon Pretence of *Religion*; and dedicate that to God, which their Parents had a Right to; as we find our Blessed Saviour reproaches the *Jews* for doing; and the Manner he mentions it in, shews plainly, that this impious kind of Devotion was a Practice customary among them before his Time. Since that some have acted after their Examples, even in the Profession of Christianity; and many have held it lawful to *kill a Father* in one's own Defence, or in case he became a Publick Enemy to the State. But sure, if such Relations deserve Death, it ought to be inflicted by some other Hand; and heretofore it was receiv'd as a general Maxim, and admits of scarce any Exception, **That no Wickedness could be committed by a*

Matt. xv.

* Nullum tantum scelus admitti potest à patre, quod parricidio fit vindicandum; & nullum scelus rationem habet.

Father,

Father, the Heinousness whereof would justify Parricide; to kill a Father is wicked, and no Wickedness can be reasonable.

Chap. 47.
~

Now the Generality of the World do not seem duly sensible of how mischievous Consequence to Mankind, this Abatement and Abolition of the *Paternal Authority* hath prov'd. The Governments, under which it was kept up, and vigorously exerted, have flourish'd, and contain'd their Subjects in strict Duty. If upon any Occasion it had been found by Experience too sharp and exorbitant, prudent Care might have been taken to regulate and bring it under convenient Restraints. But utterly to disannul and destroy it, is by no means agreeable to Decency or Virtue, and least of all to the Advantage of the Publick. For when once the Reins are let loose, and Countenance is given to Disobedience in Private Families, it quickly grows to a general Spirit of Faction, and Disorder, and Ungovernable Insolence; and the casting off the Yoke of the Natural Parents, is a bold and dangerous Step toward Rebellion against the Civil. The Effect whereof hath been abundantly seen in the many Inconveniences which Governments have suffer'd upon the Relaxation or utter rescinding of this Authority; whereby in the Event they only clipp'd their own Wings, and encourag'd Enemies and Insurrections against themselves, as was said just now.

The Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children will be treated of, Book III, Chap. 14.



C H A P. XLVIII.

Of Lords and their Slaves; Masters and Servants.

^{1.}
The Use of
Slaves uni-
versal, but
unnatural.

THE making use of *Slaves*, and the Power of *Lords* or Masters over them, tho' it hath been a Thing receiv'd and practis'd in all Places and all Ages of the World, (excepting that it was considerably abated for about Four hundred Years, but now it hath since reviv'd and obtain'd again:) Yet I cannot forbear looking upon it as a monstrous Custom, and highly reproachful to Human Nature. Since Brutes have nothing of this kind among them; nor do they either compel their Fellows by Violence and Fraud, or voluntarily submit themselves to Captivity. This seems rather then to have been dispens'd with, than approv'd by the Law of *Moses*. But even this Indulgence, accommodated to the Necessities of that People, and the Hardness of their Hearts, was not so rigorous as the Practice of other Places; for neither was the Power so absolute, nor the Slavery perpetual; but the One confin'd to Rules, and the other terminated with the Seventh or Sabbatical Year. Christianity finding the Usage universal, did not see fit to break in upon this Constitution, but left its Profelytes at Liberty in this Particular, as it did in a Permission, of serving and dwelling under Heathen and Idolatrous Princes and Masters. For this, and many other things, could not be abolish'd and set aside at once; but by giving some little Discountenance

to them, Time hath worn them off gently, and by degrees. Chap. 48.

Slaves may be distinguish'd into Four several Kinds. 1. Such as are *Natural*, or born of Parents in that Condition. 2. Such as are *Slaves upon Force*, made so by Conquest, and the Rights of War. 3. *Adjudged Slaves*, such as are made and awarded to be such, either by way of Punishment for some Crime, or for the Satisfaction of some Debt, which gives the Creditors a Right to their Persons, and of employing them to their own Benefit and Service. This Slavery was limited among the *Jews* only to a certain Season, Seven Years at the most; the *Sabbatical Year* put an End to it all; but in other Countries it continu'd till the Debt was discharged. 4. *Voluntary Slaves*, or such as are of their own making, as those who throw Dice for it, or who sell their Liberty for a Sum of Money, as it hath been the Custom to do in *Germany*; and is still in some Parts even of the Christian World; or else such as freely surrender up themselves to the Service of another, and devote their Persons to perpetual Slavery: And thus we read in the Law the Antient *Jews* did, whose Ears were appointed to be bored with an Awl, to the Door of the House, in Token of perpetual Servitude; and that they rather chose this Condition of Life, than to go free, when it was in their Power. This last sort of voluntary and chosen Captivity is, I confess, to me, the most astonishing of all the rest; and tho' all manner of *Slavery* seems to be an In-croachment and Violence upon Nature, yet sure no kind of it can be so unnatural, as that which a Man covets and brings upon Himself.

2.
Several
Sorts of
Slavery.

Tacit de
mor. Ger.

Exod. xxi.
Deut. xv.

Book I.

3.
The Cause
of it.

That thing which makes Men *Slaves* upon *Constraint*, is *Avarice*; and that which makes Men chuse to be *Slaves*, is *Cowardice*, and base *Degeneracy* of Spirit; for *Lords* made Men *Slaves*, because, when they had them in their Power and Possession, there was more Profit to be got by keeping, than there could be by killing them. And it is observable, that heretofore one of the most valuable sorts of Wealth, and that which the Owners took greatest Pride in, consisted in the Multitude, and the Quality of *Slaves*. In this respect it was that *Craffus* grew rich above all other *Romans*; for besides those that continually waited upon him, he had Five hundred *Slaves* kept constantly at hard Work, and all the Gain of their several Arts and Labours, was daily brought, and converted to his Advantage. And this, tho' very great, was not all the Profit neither; for after that they had made a vast Account of their Drudgery, and kept them a great while thus in Work and Service, their very Persons were a Marketable Commodity, and some farther Gain was made in the Sale of them to other Masters.

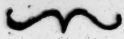
4.
The Cruel
Usage of
Slaves.

It would really amaze one, to read and consider well the *Cruelties* that have been exercis'd upon *Slaves*; and those not only such as the Tyranny of an inhumane Lord might put him upon, but such as even the Publick Laws have permitted and approv'd. They us'd to Chain and Yoke them together, and so make them till the Ground like Oxen; and they do so to this Day in *Barbary*; lodge them in Ditches, or Bogs, or Pits, and deep Caves; and when they were worn and wasted with Age and Toil, and so could bring in no more

more Gain by their Service, the poor impotent Wretches were either sold at a low Price, or drown'd, and thrown into Ponds to feed their Lord's Fish. They killed them, not only for the slightest and most insignificant Offence, as the breaking of a Glass, or the like; but upon the least Suspicions, and most unaccountable Jealousies: Nay, sometimes merely to give themselves Diversion; as *Flaminius* did, who yet was a Person of more than ordinary Character, and reputed a very Good Man in his Time. It is notorious, that they were forc'd to enter the Lists, and combat and kill one another upon the Publick Theatres, for the Entertainment of the People. If the Master of the House were murdered under his own Roof, let who would be the Doer of it, yet all the *Slaves*, tho' perfectly innocent of the thing, were sure to go to Pot. And accordingly we find that when *Pedanius*, a *Roman*, was killed, notwithstanding they had certain Intelligence of the Murderer, yet by exprefs Decree of the Senate, Four Hundred poor Wretches, that were his Slaves, were put to Death for no other reason, but their being so.

Nor is it much less surprizing on the other hand, to take notice of the *Rebellions*, Insurrections, and Barbarities of *Slaves*, when they have made Head against their Lords, and gotten them into their Power. And that, not only in Cases of Treachery and Surprize; as we read of one Tragical Night in the City of *Tyre*; but sometimes in open Field, in regular Forces, and form'd Battles, by Sea and Land; all which gave Occasion for the use of

Book I.



that Proverb, *That a Man hath as many Enemies as he hath Slaves.*

6.
*How they
came to
lessen.*

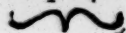
Now in proportion as the *Christian Religion* first, and afterwards the *Mahometan* got ground and increas'd, the Number of *Slaves* decreas'd, and the Terms of Servitude grew more easy and gentle. For the *Christians* first, and afterwards the *Mahometans*, who affected to follow the *Christians* Examples, made it a constant Practice and Rule, to give all those Persons their Freedom, who became Profelytes to their Religion. And this prov'd a very great Invitation, and powerful Inducement, to convert and win Men over. In-
somuch that about the Year *Twelve Hundred*, there was scarce any such thing as a *Slave* left in the World; except in such Places only where neither of these two Persuasions had gain'd any Footing or Credit.

7.
*And the
Poor to in-
crease.*

But then it is very remarkable withal, that in the same Proportions, as the Number of *Slaves* fell away and abated, that of Poor People, and Beggars, and Vagabonds multiply'd upon us. And the Reason is very obvious; for those Persons, who during the State of Slavery, wrought for their Patrons, and were maintain'd at their Expence, when they were dismiss'd their Families, lost their Table, at the same time they receiv'd their Liberty; and when they were thus turn'd loose into the World, to shift for themselves, it was not easy for them to find Means of supporting their Families, which, by reason of the great Fruitfulness of People in low Condition generally, were very numerous in Children; and thus they
grew

grew overstock'd themselves, and filled the World with Poor.

Chap. 48.



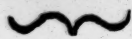
Want and extreme Necessity presently began to pinch these kind of People, and compelled them to return back again to Servitude in their own Defence. Thus they were content to enslave themselves, to truck and barter away their Liberty, to set their Labours to Sale, and let out their Persons for Hire; meerly that they might secure to themselves convenient Sustenance, and a quiet Retreat; and lighten the Burden which the Increase of Children brought upon them. Besides this pressing Occasion, and the Servitude chosen upon it, the World hath pretty much relapsed into the Using of *Slaves* again, by means of those continual Wars which both *Christians* and *Mahometans* are eternally engag'd in; both against each other, and against the *Pagans* in the East and Western Countries particularly. And though the Example of the *Jews* be so far allow'd, as a good Precedent, that they have no *Slaves* of their own Brethren and Countrymen, yet of Strangers and Foreigners they have; and these are still kept in Slavery, and under Constraint, notwithstanding they do come over to the Profession of their Master's Religion.

8.
Return to
Servitude.

The Power and Authority of common Masters over their Servants is not at all domineering or extravagant, nor such as can in any degree be prejudicial to the Natural Liberty of them who live under it. The utmost they can pretend to, is the chastizing and correcting them when they do amiss; and in this they are oblig'd to proceed with Discretion, and not suffer their Severities to be unreasonable, and out of all Measure. But

9.

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over those who are hired in as Workmen and Day-men, this Authority is still less; There is only a Covenant for Labour, and Wages in Exchange; but no Power, nor any Right of Correction, or Corporal Punishment lies against these from their Masters.

The Duty of Masters and Servants is treated of, Book III. Chap. 15.

C H A P. XLIX.

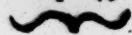
*Of Publick Government, Sovereign Power,
and Princes.*

1.
*The Nature
and Necessi-
ty of Pub-
lick Go-
vernment.*

AFTER the Account already given of *Private Power*, the next thing that falls under the Consideration, is the *Publick*, or that of the *State*. Now, the *State*, that is to say, *Government*, or a Determinate Order, and Establishment, for Commanding and Obeying, is the very Pillar and Support of Human Affairs, the Cement that knits and keeps them Fast and Strong; the Soul that gives them Life and Motion, the Band of all Society which can never subsist without it; the Vital Spirit of this Body Politick, that enables Men, so many Thousands of Men, to breathe as One, and compacts all Nature together.

2. Now, notwithstanding the absolute Necessity and unspeakable Convenience this is of, for sustaining the Universe, yet is it, really, a very slippery and unsafe thing, extremely difficult to manage, and liable to infinite Changes and Dangers.

* *The*



* *The Governing of Men, and their Affairs, is a very hard Undertaking, a heavy Burden, and exposed to great Variety of Chances.* It often declines and languishes; nay, sometimes falls to the Ground, by secret Misfortunes, and unseen Causes. And tho' its rising to a just Height, is gradual and slow, a Work of much Time, and great Pains and Prudence; yet the Ruins and Decays of it are frequently sudden and surprizing; and the Constitutions, which took up Ages to finish and build up, are broken and thrown down in a Moment. It is likewise exposed to the Hatred and Envy of all Degrees and Conditions. The high and the low watch it curiously, and are jealous of all its Proceedings, and set themselves at Work perpetually, to endanger and undermine it. This Uneasiness, and Suspicion, and general Enmity, proceeds partly from the corrupt Manners and Dispositions of the Persons in whom the *Supreme Power* is vested, and partly from the Nature of the *Power* itself, of which you may take this following Description.

Sovereignty is properly a perpetual and *Absolute Power*, subject to no Limitation, either of Time, or of Terms and Conditions. It consists in a Right of constituting and giving Laws to all in general, and to each Person under its Dominion in particular; and that, without consulting or asking the Consent of such as are to be govern'd by them; and likewise in being above all Restraints, or having Laws imposed upon itself from any other Person whatsoever. "For to impose, and com-

3.
What Sovereign Power is.

* *Arduum & subiectum fortunæ cuncta regendi onus.*

" mand

Book I.

“mand a Duty, argues Superiority, and that which
 “is *Sovereign*, can have no *Superior*. And, as another expresses it. “It infers a Right Paramount
 “of making Reservations and Exceptions from
 “the usual Forms, (as the King in Courts of Equity corrects the Common Law :) For *Sovereignty*, in its highest and strictest Importance, implies the *contrary to Subjection*, or the being bound by human Laws, either of others or its own Appointment, so as not to repeal or alter them, as there shall be Occasion. For it is contrary to Nature, for all Men to give Law to themselves, and to be absolutely commanded by themselves, in Things that depend upon their own Will. * *No Obligation can continue firm, none can lie there, where the Person that engages, hath nothing but his own Will to bind him*: And therefore *Sovereign Power*, properly so call'd, cannot have its Hands ty'd up by any other, whether living or dead; neither its own, nor its Predecessor's Decrees, nor the receiv'd Laws of the Country can be unalterable or irreversibile. This *Power* hath been compared by some to Fire, to the Sea, to a wild Beast, which it is very hard to tame, or make treatable; it will not endure Contradiction, it will not be molested, or if it be, it is a dangerous Enemy, a just and severe Avenger of them that have the Hardiness to provoke it. † *Power* (says one) *is a Thing that seldom bears to*

* Nulla Obligatio consistere potest, quæ à voluntate promittentis statum capit.

† Potestas res est, quæ moneri docerique non vult, & castigationem ægrè fert.

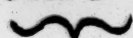
be admonish'd or instructed, and is generally very impatient of Contradiction or Reproof.

4.
Its Proper-
ties.

The Marks and Characters which are proper to it, and by which it is distinguish'd from other Sorts of Power, are, the giving Judgment, and pronouncing definitive Sentences, whereby all contending Parties shall be concluded, and from whence there lies no Appeal. A full Authority to make Peace and War, Creating, and Depriving Magistrates, and Officers; granting Indulgences, and dispensing with the Rigor of the Laws upon particular Hardships, and extraordinary Emergencies; levying of Taxes; coining and adjusting the Value of Money, ordering what shall be current in its Dominions, and at what Prices; receiving of Homage and Acknowledgments from its Subjects, and Embassies from *Foreigners*; requiring Oaths of Fidelity from the Persons under its Protection, and administering them in Controversies and Tryals of Right and Wrong. But all is reduc'd at last, and comprehended under the *Legislative Power*, the enacting such Laws as it shall think fit, and by them binding the Consciences of those who live within its Dominions. Some indeed have added others, which are so small and trivial in Comparison, that they are scarce worth naming after the former; such as the Admiralty, Rights of the Sea, Title to Wrecks upon the Coast, Confiscation of Goods in Cases of Treason, Power to change the Language, the Ensigns of Government, and Title of Majesty.

Greatness and *Sovereignty* is infinitely coveted by almost all. But wherefore is it? Surely for no other Reason so much, as that the Outside is gay and

5.



and glorious, beautiful and glittering; but the Inside is hid from common Observation. Every Body sees the Plenty, the Pomp, and the Advantages of a *Crown*, but few or none at a distance are acquainted with the Weight, the Cares, the Troubles, and the Dangers of it. It is true indeed, *To Command* is a noble and a divine Post; but it is as true, that it is an anxious, a cumbersome, and a difficult one. Upon the same Account it is, that the Persons in that Dignity and Elevation, are esteem'd and reverenc'd much above the Rate of common Men. And very just it is they should be so, for this Opinion is of great Use to extort that Respect and Obedience from the People, upon the due Payment whereof, all the Peace and Quiet of Societies depend. But if we take these great Persons apart from their Publick Character, and consider them as Men, we shall find them just of the same Size, and cast in the same Mould, with other common Men; nay, too often, of worse Dispositions, and not so liberally dealt with by Nature, as many of their Inferiors. We are apt to think that every Thing a *Prince* does, must needs proceed upon great and weighty Reasons, because all they do, is in the Event of great and general Importance to Mankind; but in truth, the Matter is much otherwise, and they think, and resolve, and act, just like one of us; For Nature hath given them the same Faculties, and moves them by the same Springs. The Provocation, which would set two private Neighbours to scolding and quarrelling, makes a publick War between two States; and what one of us would whip his Child or his Page for, incenses a Monarch to chastise

chastise a Province, that hath offended him. Their *Wills* are as liable to *Levity* as ours, but their Power and the Effect of what they will, is incomparably greater. But still Nature is the same in the Fly, as in the Elephant, and both are actuated by the same Appetites and Passions. Nay, let me take leave to add, that, besides those Passions, and Defects, and natural Qualifications, and Abatements, which they share in common with the least and meanest of their Servants and Adorers; there are some Vices and Inconveniences in a Manner peculiar to them alone; such as the Eminence of their Condition, and the vast Extent of their Power inspires them with a more than ordinary Tendency, with vehement and almost unavoidable Propensions to.

The Manners and Temper of Great Persons have been commonly observed by the wisest and most discerning Persons to be, *Invincible Pride*, and *Self-conceit*. * *An abounding in their own Sense, which is stiff, and inflexible, incapable of Truth, and disdaining better Advice.* *Licentiousness and Violence*; † *which looks upon a Liberty of doing what no body else may do, as the particular Distinction, and most glorious Privilege of their Character.* So that their favourite Motto is, ‡ *My Will is a Law.* *Suspicion and Jealousy*, for they are || *naturally tender and fearful of their Power*; nay, fearful sometimes even of their own Children and

6.
The Man-
ners and
Disposi-
tions of
Great Per-
sons.

* *Durus & veri insolens: Ad recta flecti regius non vult tumor.*

† *Id esse regni maximum pignus putant, si quicquid aliis non licet, solis licet.*

‡ *Quicquid libet, licet.*

|| *Suapte Naturâ Potentiæ anxii.*

nearest

Book I.

neareſt Relations; ‡ *The next in Succeſſion is always look'd upon with an evil and jealous Eye, by the Perſon in preſent Poſſeſſion of the Throne; ſo that any the leaſt Genius of Government, or intereſting themſelves in publick Affairs, is very unacceptable in the Sons of Princes: And hence it is that they are ſo often in Fears and mighty Conſternations, for * it is uſual and natural to Kings, to live under continual Apprehenſions.*

7.
Their Mi-
ſeries and
Inconveni-
ences.

The Advantages which *Kings and Sovereign Princes* have above thoſe of meaner Condition, ſeem indeed to be marvellous great, and glorious; but when nicely conſider'd, they are in truth but very thin and flight, and little more than mere Imagination. But, were they much above what really they are, it is certain they are dearly bought, at the Expence of the many weighty, ſolid, and ſubſtantial Troubles and Inconveniencies that conſtantly attend them. The Name and the Title of Sovereign, the Splendor and Formalities of a Court, and all the Pomp and Parade that draws our Eyes and Obſervation, carry a beautiful and deſirable Appearance, ſuch as raiſes our Wonder, and kindles our Wiſhes and Deſires; but the Burden and the Inſide of all this ſhining Pageantry, is hard and knotty, laborious and painful. There is *Honour* in abundance, but very little *Joy* or Eaſe; it is a publick and an honourable Servitude, an illuſtrious Miſery, a wealthy Captivity. The Chains are of Gold, but ſtill they are Chains. And it is worth our while to obſerve the Behaviour and the Reflections of *Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, Per-*

‡ *Suſpectus ſemper inviſuſq; dominantibus quiſquis proximus deſtinatur, adeo ut diſpliceant etiam civilia Filiorum ingenia.*

* *Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem.*

anax, Dioclesian, upon this Occasion; and the wretched End of most of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and many others of their Successors in the Empire. But now, in regard these seem Words of course only, such as very few will give any Credit to, because they suffer themselves to be imposed upon by a gay and deceitful Face of Power, I shall think it worth while to clear this Matter, by giving a distinct and particular Account of some Inconveniences and Miseries, with which the Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is constantly encumbered.

First, The mighty Difficulty of acting their Part well, and acquitting themselves of so weighty a Charge. For if it be so very hard a Thing, as we find by sad Experience it is, to govern ones self well, what infinite Hardship must we in reason suppose there is, in governing a Multitude of People? It is certainly much more easy and pleasant to follow, than to lead; to have no more to do than only to keep a plain beaten Road, than to beat out a Path for others; to obey, than to direct and command; to answer for ones single self, than to be responsible for ones self and a great many more besides.

8.
*In the Dis-
charge of
their Of-
fice.*

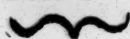
** And thus 'tis better than proud Sceptres sway,
To live a quiet Subject, and obey.* CREECH.

To all this we may add, that it is highly necessary for the Person, whose Duty it is to command, to be more excellent and exemplary, than them who are commanded by him; as that great Com-

* Ut satius multo jam fit parere quietum

Quam regere imperio res velle, — LUCRET. lib. v.
mander

Book I.



mander *Cyrus*, very truly observed. And this Difficulty we cannot be better made sensible of by any Argument, than Matter of Fact; which proves to us experimentally, how very few Persons History makes mention of in this Character, who have in all Points been, what they ought to be. *Tacitus* says, that of all the *Roman* Emperors till that Time, *Vespasian* was the only true good Man; and another ancient Author hath taken the Confidence to affirm, that the Names of all the good *Princes* that ever were, might be engraven within the *Compass* of a Ring.

9.
In their
Pleasures
and Actions
of their
Life.

The Second Difficulty may be fixed very reasonably upon their Pleasures and Delights, of which Men usually think, (but they think very much amiss) that they have a greater Share, and more perfect Enjoyment, than the rest of Mankind. For in truth, their Condition, in this Respect, is infinitely worse than that of Private Men. The Lustre and Eminence of great Persons gives them great Inconvenience in the Fruition of what it furnishes them with Power and Opportunities for. They are too much exposed to publick View, move openly and in check, and are perpetually watch'd, controuled and censured, even to their very Thoughts, which the World will always take a Liberty of guessing at, and censuring, tho' they are no competent Judges, nor can possibly have any Knowledge of the Matter. Besides this Restraining, there is likewise some Disadvantage in the very Easiness they feel of doing whatever their Inclination leads them to, and every thing bending, and yielding to their Pleasure; for this takes away all that Relish and pleasing Sharpness, which is
neces-

necessary to render a thing Delightful; and nothing is or can be so to us, which hath no Mixture or Difficulty to recommend and heighten it. A Man that never gives himself time to be Dry, will never be sensible what Pleasure there is in quenching one's Thirst; and all Drinking will be flat and insipid to him. Fulness and Plenty is one of the most troublesome things in the World, and, instead of helping forward, does but provoke us to pauseate our Happiness.

* *Gross easy Love does like gross Diet, pall;
In squeasy Stomachs Honey turns to Gall.* DRYDEN.

The greatest Interruption to our Enjoyments, and the most distasteful thing that can happen to us, is *Abundance*: To be cloy'd is to lose All. And therefore we may say, that Princes are not capable of such a thing as Action; for this cannot be lively and vigorous without some Degree of Difficulty and Resistance: Other Men may be said to live, and move, and act, who meet with Obstruction and Opposition; but they who meet with none, may more truly be said to dream, or walk in their Sleep, or to glide along insensibly thro' the whole Course of their Lives.

The Third Particular, in which they find themselves aggrieved above others, is in their *Marriage*. The Matches made by Persons of inferior Quality are infinitely more free and easy; the effect

* *Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tædia nobis
Vertitur, & Stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet.*

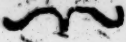
OVID. *Amor. L. ii. Eleg. 19.*

of Choice, the result of Affection, more void of Constraint, and full of Satisfaction. One great Reason, no doubt, of this Difference is, that Common Men have greater Choice, and may find great Variety and Numbers equal with themselves, to take a Wife out of; but Kings and Princes are but few; and therefore if they resolve to marry suitably to themselves, there can be no great picking and chusing in the Case. But the other Reason is, and indeed the more considerable of the Two, That private Persons have nothing farther to aim at beyond their own particular Concerns; They consult their own Comfort and Convenience; but Princes are often confin'd and ty'd up by publick Considerations. Their Marriages are vast Intrigues of State, and design'd to be instrumental in securing the Happiness and Peace of the World in general. Great Persons do not Marry for themselves, but for the common Good of Nations and Kingdoms. And this is what they ought to be more in love with, and tender of, than of their Wife and Children. Upon this Account they are frequently obliged to hearken to Proposals where there is neither Affection nor Delight to invite them; they often engage themselves to Persons, whom they are so far from being taken with, that sometimes they never know nor see them, till it is out of their Power to retreat. There is no such thing as *Love* or *Liking* between the Parties; but the short of the Matter is, Such a great *Prince* marries such a great *Princess*, which, if he had been in another Capacity, he would never have chosen or consented to. But the Publick was concern'd, and is served by it; and he is content to enslave himself for

for his whole Life, because that Alliance was necessary to be contracted, for the strengthening his Interest, and the security of his Kingdoms; and the mutual Benefit and Ease which Nations may receive by such a convenient Union.

I may reckon this for a Fourth Disadvantage, that they can have no part in those Tryals and little Emulations, which other Men are continually exercised in towards one another, by the Jealousy they express of their Honour, or signaling their Valour, their Wit, or their Bodily Strength; which after all, is one of the most sensible Pleasures Men enjoy in Conversation with one another. The Reason is obvious; because every Man thinks himself bound in good Manners to yield to them, to save a Decency, and not suffer them to be outdone: and had rather balk their own Honour, and abate of what they could do upon these Occasions, than give Offence to a Prince, whom they know Ambitious of being thought the Conqueror of all that contend with him. Now the Bottom and Truth of all this Matter is, that upon pretence of Deference and Respect, such Great Men are abus'd, and treated with great Scorn, and secret Contempt; which gave occasion to a wise Man to say, that the Children of Princes were in a very ill way of Education, for they learnt nothing as they should do, except the Art of Riding a Manag'd Horse; because in all other Cases Men yield, and adjudge the Prize to them; But this Beast, who is not capable of Flattery, nor hath learnt the Arts of Courtship and Complaisance, makes no difference between the Prince and his Groom, and throws either of them without distinction. Several great Men have

Book I.



therefore refused the Applauses of Spectators, and scorn'd their formal Commendations, saying, *I should take this kindly, and be proud of it, if it came from Persons that durst say otherwise, and who would take that generous Freedom of finding Fault with Me, when I gave them a just occasion of doing so.*

12.

*Incapacity
of Travel-
ling.*

The Fifth Inconvenience is, their being debarr'd the Liberty of going abroad, and the mighty Advantages of seeing the World. For they are perfectly *Imprison'd* within their own Country, and generally coop'd up within the Precincts of their Court: and there they are hedg'd in, as it were, with their own Creatures; expos'd to the View of Spectators, and the Censure of Impertinent Tattlers and Busy-bodies, that watch and dog them every where, even in their most serious Actions. Which made King *Alphonso* say, that in this Respect *the very Asses had more Liberty, and were in a better Condition, than Kings.*

13.

*As also of
mutual and
cordial
Friendship.*

The Sixth Topick of their Miseries is, the being shut out from all *sincere Friendship*, and mutual Society, which is the very sweetest and most valuable Advantage of Human Life; but such a one as can never be enjoy'd, except among Equals, or such at least between whom there is no very great Inequality. Now the Elevation of a Prince is so high, and the Distance at which his Subjects stand below him so very great, that it makes any intimate, and free Correspondence impracticable. All the Services, and Compliments, and humble Formalities paid them, come from such Hands as must do what they do, and dare not do otherwise. They are by no means the effect of Friendship, but of servile Submission, and Interest, and Design. All
their

their zealous Professions are not for his sake, but their own; to ingratiate and to raise themselves; or else they are a Matter of Custom and Shew only. Which we see plainly they often are, from the vilest and most wicked Kings being serv'd, and reverenc'd, and addrest to, in the very same manner with the best, and most truly deserving those Honours; and even them whom the People hate and curse, with those whom they cordially love and adore. But still, whether a *Prince* be the One or the Other of these, no Body can make any Conjecture at all from outward Forms and Appearances; the Pomp, the Ceremony, the Compliment, and the whole Face and Behaviour of a Court, is always alike: Which *Julian* the Emperor was so sensible of, that when some of his Courtiers commended his *Justice*, he made Answer, " That he indeed should have some Temptation " to grow proud upon their Praises, but that he " consider'd whom they came from; and they " who gave him good Words then, durst not take " upon them to Chide him when he happen'd to " deserve it.

The Seventh Particular, in which they exceed the Miseries of common Men; and that which perhaps is of all others the worst in it self, and most destructive to the publick Safety, is, that they are not at liberty to use their own Discretion in the choice of Servants and Officers of Honour and Trust; nor have Opportunities of attaining to a true and perfect Knowledge of Things. They are never suffer'd to know All; nor are they ever thoroughly acquainted what Condition their Affairs are really in; some better Face put upon the good

14.
Being kept
in Ignorance.

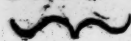
part, and some part conceal'd or colour'd over, which is unfortunate or ill-manag'd, and would be unacceptable, if rightly represented. As little are they let in to the true Characters of Men, and consequently, who are fit to be employ'd and trusted. And what can be more miserable than such a State of Ignorance as this; when they, whose Concern it is to know best, are far from understanding truly, either what is to be done, or who are most proper to do it? Alas! they are encompassed, and blockaded up, as it were, by People of the first Quality, whom there is no getting loose from: Either such as are their own Relations, or who, upon the Account of their Families, and Honours, and Places, or by long Custom and Prescription, are so fix'd in Authority, and have so great a Concern in the Management of Affairs, that it is not advisable or safe to give them Disgust. They must be caress'd, and preferr'd, and have no ground of Jealousy or Discontent given them: If Offices of the highest Consequence are to be dispos'd of, these Persons must not be overlook'd; if, when they are thus employ'd, they prove incapable or unfit, the Retreat is difficult; All the Nobility of their Alliance resent their Slight, or their Disgrace; and the mending an Improper Choice, or the making a Proper one, is sometimes in hazard of bringing all into Confusion. Now these Persons, who make it their Business to keep their Prince constantly muffled up, and never let him see the World, take good care that nothing shall appear to him as it really is; and that all such as are truly better and more useful Men than themselves, shall never gain free Access to him,

him, nor have their Abilities known. O! 'tis a Chap. 49.
wretched thing to *see* nothing but *with other Peoples*
Eyes; and to *hear* nothing but *with other Mens Ears*;
as *Princes*, whose Eminence will not admit of Free-
dom, and Plain-dealing, and promiscuous Con-
versation, are under a necessity of doing. But
that which makes the Misery complete, and the
very worst that can be, is, that, commonly speak-
ing, Princes and Great Persons are by a strange
sort of Fatality, destin'd to, and in the possession
of three sorts of Men, who are the very Bane
and Pest of Mankind, (*viz.*) *Flatterers*, *Projectors*
for raising Money, and *Informers*. And these under
a specious, but counterfeit Pretence, either of Zeal
and Affection for their Prince, (as the Two for-
mer do) or of Integrity, and Virtue, and Reform-
ation, (as the last) instead of improving or
amending either, utterly deprave and ruin both
Prince and *People*.

The Eighth Misery is, that they are less 15.
Masters of their own Wills, than any other Persons. For
in all their Proceedings, there are infinite Consid-
erations and Respects, which they are bound to ob-
serve, and these captivate and constrain their De-
signs, and Inclinations, and Desires. * *The greater*
any Man's Station and Capacity is, the less he is at his
own Disposal. This one would think should pre-
vail for fair Quarter at least, and favourable Al-
lowances for what they do; but instead of being
pitied or lamented for this Hardship, they are the
most barbarously treated, the most severely censu-
red, and traduced, of any Men living. For every

* In maximâ fortunâ minima licentia.

Book I.



bold Fellow sets up for a Politician, and undertakes to guess at their Meanings, to penetrate *into their very Hearts and Thoughts*. * *To pry too curiously into the secret Intentions of a Prince, is unlawful*; or, if it were not, yet it is but doubtful, and a Guess at best, what we cannot compass, and therefore ought not to attempt. *The Cabinets of Princes are Sacred*, and their Breasts ought to be much more so. These busy Men cannot discern them, and yet they are eternally arraigning and sentencing; they have a quite different Prospect of things; and see them under another Face, from what they appear to those at the Helm; or if they saw them both alike, yet both are not equally capable of understanding the Intricacies of them. Intrigues of State are things above a Vulgar Capacity; but notwithstanding, every Man expects his Prince should do what he thinks most convenient, and blames his Conduct if he do otherwise; there is no Favour, no Patience to be obtained for any thing contrary to each Man's private Sentiments, tho' it be in it self never so fit, never so necessary, never so impossible to have been managed otherwise. In a word, every Shop, every Coffee-house sits in Judgment upon their Governors; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cause, proceed to severe and sawcy Condemnations of them.

16.
Their miserable End.

Lastly, It happens very often, that *Princes* come to a very untimely and unfortunatè End; not only such of them as by Usurpation and Tyranny

* *Abditos Principis sensus, & si quid occultius parat exquirere, illicitum, anceps, nec ideo assequare.*

provoke Men to bring it upon them, for this is not much to be wonder'd at, and such have no more than their Due; but, (which is a miserable Case indeed) those who are most rightful in their Title, and most regular, and just, and gentle in the Administration of their Government. How frequent Instances of this kind does the *Roman* History present us with, in those Emperors that follow'd after the Civil Wars of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*? And not to go so far back, we know that *Henry III.* of *France*, was assassinated by a little insignificant Friar in the midst of an Army of Forty Thousand Men; and infinite other Examples of Poisonings, Murders, and villanous Conspiracies are to be found in all Ages.

** Kings post down to the Shades in Blood; few stay
For common Deaths, and Nature's slow Decay.*

A Man would be almost tempted to imagine, that as Storms and Tempests seem to wreck their Spight most upon the towering Pride of the loftiest Buildings, so there are some malicious Spirits, that envy, and make it their Business to humble, and ruin, and trample down the Majesty and Greatness of those, who stand most exalted here below.

*† And hence we fancy unseen Powers in Things,
Whose Force and Will such strange Confusion brings,
And spurns and overthrows our greatest Kings.*

CREECH.

** Ad generum Cereis sine cæde & sanguine pauci
Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte Tyranni.*

*† Usque adeo res humanas vis ædita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros fasces, sævasque secures*

Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi haberi videtur. LUCKET. Lib. v.

To

To sum up all in a Word: The Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is above all others encumber'd with Difficulties, and expos'd to Dangers. Their Life, provided it be innocent and virtuous, is infinitely laborious, and full of Cares; if it be wicked, it is then the Plague and Scourge of the World; hated and cursed by all Mankind; and whether it be the one or the other, it is beset with inexpressible Hazards; for the greater any Governor is, the less he can be secure, the less he can trust to himself; and yet the more need he hath to be secure, and not to trust to others, but himself. And this may satisfy us how it comes to pass, that the being betray'd and abus'd, is a Thing very natural and easy to happen, a common, and almost inseparable Consequence of Government and Sovereign Power.

*Of the Duty of Princes, see Book III.
Chap. 16.*

C H A P. L.

Of Magistrates.

- i. **T**Here are great Differences, and several *Degrees of Magistrates*, with regard both to the Honour, and the Power that belongs to them: For these are the two considerable Points to be observ'd in distinguishing them, and they are entirely independent upon one another; they may be, and often are each of them single and alone. Sometimes those Persons who are in the most honourable

nourable Posts, yet have no great Matter of Authority or Power lodg'd in their Hands; as the King's Council, Privy-Counsellors in some Governments, and the Secretaries of State: Some have but one of these two Qualifications; others have both; and all of them in different Degrees; but those are properly, and in strict speaking, *Magistrates*, in whom both Honour and Power meet together.

2.

Magistrates are in a middle Station, and stand between the Prince and private Men; subordinate to the one, but superior to the other: They carry Justice home, and hand it down from above; but of this they being only the Ministers and Instruments, can have no manner of Power inherent in themselves, when the Prince himself, who is the Fountain of Law and Justice, is present. As Rivers lose their Name and their Force, when they have emptied and incorporated their Waters into the Sea, and as Stars disappear at the Approach of the Sun; so all the Authority of *Magistrates* in the Presence of the Sovereign, whose Deputies and Vicegerents they are, is either totally suspended, or upon Sufferance only. And the Case is the same if we descend a little lower, and compare the Commissions of Subalterns and inferior Officers, with those in a higher and more general Jurisdiction. Those that are in the same Commission are all upon the Level, there is no Power or Superiority there over one another; all that they can do, is to consult together, and be assisting to each other by Concurrence; or else to obstruct and restrain each other, by opposing what is doing, and preventing its being done.

All

All *Magistrates* judge, condemn, and command, either according to the Form and express Letter of the Law, (and then the Decisions they give, and the Sentences they pronounce, are nothing else but a putting the Law in execution) or else they proceed upon Rules of Equity, and reasonable Consideration, (and then this is call'd the *Duty of the Magistrate.*)

Magistrates cannot alter their own Decrees, nor correct the Judgment they have given, without express Permission of the Sovereign, upon Penalty of being adjudged Falsifiers of the Publick Records. They may indeed revoke their own Orders, or they may suspend the Execution of them for some time, as they shall see Occasion. But when once a Cause is brought to an Issue, and Sentence given upon a full and fair Hearing, they have no Power to retract that Judgment, nor to mend or try it over again, without fresh Matter require it.

*Of the Duty of Magistrates, See Book III.
Chap. 17.*

C H A P. LI.

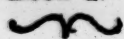
Lawgivers and Teachers.

IT is a Practice very usual with some Philosophers and Teachers, to prescribe such *Laws* and *Rules*, as are above the Proportions of Virtue, and what the Condition of Human Nature will suffer very few, if any at all to come up to. They draw the Images much bigger and more beautiful than

than the Life; or else set us such Patterns of difficult and austere Virtue, as are impossible for us to equal, and so discourage many, and render the Attempt itself dangerous, and of ill Consequence to some. These are merely the Painter's Fancy, like *Plato's Republick*, *Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, *Cicero's Orator*, or *Horace's Poet*. Noble Characters indeed, and a Collection of acknowledged Excellencies in Speculation; but such as the World wants living Instances of. The best and most perfect Lawgiver, who in marvellous Condescension was pleased himself to be sensible of our Infirmities, hath shewed great Tenderneſs and Compassion for them, and wisely consider'd what Human Nature would bear. He hath suited all things so well to the Capacities of Mankind, that those Words of his are true, even in this Respect also, *My yoke is easy, and my burden is light*.

Now, where these Powers are not duly consulted, the *Laws* are first of all unjust; for some Proportion ought to be observ'd between the Command, and the Obedience; the Duty imposed, and the Ability to discharge it. I do not say, these Commands should not exceed what is usually done, but what is possible to be done; for what Vanity and Folly is it to oblige People to be always in a Fault, and to cut out more Work, than can ever be finished? Accordingly we may frequently observe, that these rigid Stretchers of Laws, are the first that expose them to publick Scorn, by their own Neglect; and, like the *Pharisees* of old, lay heavy Burdens upon others, which they themselves will not so much as touch with one of their Fingers. These Examples are but too obvious in all

Pro-



Professions; this is the Way of the World. Men direct one Thing, and practise another; and that, not always through Defect or Corruption of Manners, but sometimes even out of Judgment and Principle too.

Another Fault too frequent is, That many Persons are exceeding scrupulous and nice in Matters which are merely circumstantial, or free and indifferent in their own Nature; even above what they express themselves in some of the most necessary and substantial Branches of their Duty, such as the Laws of God, or the Light of Nature have bound upon them. This is much such another Extravagance, as lending to other People, while we neglect to pay our own Debts. A *Pharisaical Ostentation*, which our Heavenly Master so severely exposes the *Jewish* Elders for, and is at the Bottom no better than *Hypocrisy*; a mocking of God, and miserable deluding of their own Souls.

Seneca indeed, hath said something concerning the Impracticableness of some Duties, which, if rightly observ'd, is of good Use; but then it must not be overstrain'd, nor applied to all Occasions indifferently. * *Whenever (says he) you have Reason to distrust the due performance of the Precepts or Laws you establish, it is necessary to require something more than will just serve the Turn, to the intent, That which is sufficient may be sure not to be neglected. For all Hyperboles and Excesses of this kind are useful to this purpose, that Men, by having something expressed*

* *Quoties parum fiducia est, in his, in quibus imperas, amplius exigendum est quam satis est, ut praestetur quantum satis est. In hoc omnis Hyperbole excedit, ut ad Verum Mendacio veniat.*

which

which is not true, may be brought to just Ideas of that which is true. Chap. 51.

With this Quotation our Author ends his Chapter in the older Edition, which I thought convenient to add here; and not only so, but in regard I am sensible, what perverse Use licentious Men may make of the former Objection to the Prejudice of Religion, and in particular Vindication of their own Neglects and vicious Lives; and also what Occasions of Scruple and Disquiet it may minister to some well-meaning Persons, when they compare their own Defects with the Perfection of the Divine Laws; I beg the Reader's Leave to insert at large what a learned and excellent Writer of our own hath delivered to this purpose. And this I hope, if well consider'd, may both confute the licentious, and quiet the doubting and dissatisfied in the Point before us.

“ Laws (says he) must not be depressed to our Imperfection, nor Rules bent to our Obliquity; but we must ascend towards the Perfection of them, and strive to conform our Practice to their Exactness. If what is prescribed, be according to the Reason of Things, just and fit, it is enough, although our Practice will not reach it. For what remaineth may be supplied by Repentance, and Humility, in him that should obey; by Mercy and Pardon in him that doth command.

“ In the Prescription of Duty it is just, that what may be required (even in Rigor) should be precisely determined; though in Execution of Justice, or Dispensation of Recompence, Consideration may be had of our Weakness:

“ Whereby

Dr. Barrow, Vol. I. Sermon. xxvi.

Book I.



“ Whereby both the Authority of our Governor may be maintained, and his Clemency glorified.

“ It is of great Use, that by comparing the Law with our Practice, and in the Perfection of the one, discerning the Defect of the other; we may be humbled, may be sensible of our Impotency, may thence be forced to seek the Helps of Grace, and the Benefit of Mercy.

“ Were the Rule never so low, our Practice would come below it; it is therefore expedient that it should be high; that at least we may rise higher in Performance than otherwise we should do. For the higher we aim, the nearer we shall go to the due Pitch; as he that aimeth at Heaven, although he cannot reach it, will yet shoot higher than he that aimeth only at the House-Top.

“ The Height of Duty doth prevent Sloth and Decay in Virtue, keeping us in wholesome Exercise, and in continual Improvement, while we are always climbing towards the Top, and straining unto farther Attainment. The sincere Prosecution of which Course, as it will be more profitable to us, so it will be no less acceptable to God, than if we could thoroughly fulfil the Law; For in Judgment God will only reckon upon the Sincerity and Earnestness of our Endeavour; so that if we have done our best, it will be taken as if we had done all. *Our Labour will not be lost in the Lord*; for the Degrees of Performance will be consider’d, and he that hath done his Duty in part, shall be proportionably recompens’d; according to that of

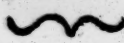
“ St. Paul,

“ St. Paul, Every man shall receive his own reward
 “ according to his own Work. Hence sometimes we
 “ are enjoin’d to be perfect as our Heavenly Father
 “ is perfect; and to be holy as God is holy; other-
 “ while to go on to Perfection, and to press toward
 “ the Mark; which Precepts in Effect do import
 “ the same Thing, but the latter implieth the for-
 “ mer, although in Attainment impossible, yet in
 “ Attempt very profitable. And surely he is like-
 “ ly to write best, who proposeth to himself the
 “ fairest Copy for his Imitation.

“ In fine, if we do act what is possible, or as
 “ we can, do conform to the Rule of Duty, we
 “ may be sure, that no Impossibility of any Sub-
 “ lime Law can prejudice us.

“ I say of any Law, for -- many, perhaps every
 “ one Evangelical Law are alike repugnant to cor-
 “ rupt Nature, and seem to surmount our Ability.

Thus far that Reverend Person, whose Argu-
 ment I know not whether I ought to ask pardon
 for representing so largely; but I was willing to
 give it entire, for the greater Satisfaction of them
 who think themselves concern’d to consider it:
 And likewise, that it might be of more Use, when
 applied, (as very applicable it is) to other Laws
 and Precepts, wherein Religion is not immediately
 concerned. In short, a Law-Giver and a Judge
 are two very different Characters, and such as re-
 quire very different Methods and Principles; for
 it is one Thing to establish, and another to exe-
 cute the Law. And the want of observing this
 Distinction occasions all the Complaints and De-
 clamatory Strains we hear, against Moral and Re-
 vealed Religion, as if they imposed Things merely

Book I.  romantick, and imaginary. To all which I add too, that though we none of us can attain to Perfection, yet most of us might go much greater Lengths towards it, than we do. And that this is often made an unnecessary Pretence, a Cloak to our Folly, or Sloth, or indulged Vices; which, when they have all of them been wilful and affected, we palliate and excuse, by taking Sanctuary very improperly, in the Infirmities of Human Nature, the Imperfections and Failings of the best Men, and the Impossibility and Impracticableness of the Duties imposed upon us.

CHAP. LII.

Of the Common People.

BY the *Common People*, here, we are not to understand all that have no Part in the Government, and whose only Business is to obey; but I mean the Rout and vulgar Crowd, the Dregs and Rubbish of the Common-wealth; Men of a mean, slavish, and mechanical Spirit and Condition, let them cover, or call, or set themselves off how they will. Now, this is a *many-headed Monster*; such as cannot be described in a little Compass; inconstant and changeable, restless and rolling, like the Waves of the Sea; they are 'ruffled and calmed, they approve and disapprove the self-same Thing, in a Moment of Time: Nothing in the World can be more easy, than
to

to manage and turn this Bawble which Way and into what Form you please; they laugh or cry, are angry or pleased, or in any other Passion, just as one would have them: They love not War for the Sake of its End, nor Peace for the Sake of the Quiet it brings, but they are fond both of the one and the other; because each is new, and always makes some Change. Confusion puts them upon desiring Order, and when they are composed, they hate Order and Regularity then, as much as they did Confusion before. They are perpetually running from one Extreme to another; fond of Contraries; all Seasons and Times are lost to them, except what is not; for they feed only upon the Future. * *These (says one) are the Qualities, This the constant Custom and Practice of the Common People, to hate and decry the Present, to be eager and desirous of the Future; extravagantly to commend and extol Things and Times that are past.*

They are credulous and busy, apt to entertain and pick up all manner of *News*, but especially such as is ill and disastrous; and whatever they hear reported, they take it for granted must needs be true: Let a Man but come provided with some fresh Story, and give it out that it is so, and he shall whistle them together as thick as Swarms of Bees at the tinkling of a Brass Pan.

They are injudicious, unreasonable, indiscreet; all their Wisdom and Judgment is perfect Chance, Cross or Pile, Even or Odd: They speak their

* Hi vulgi mores odisse, præsentia, ventura cupere, præterita celebrare.

Book I. Mind, and determine with great Positiveness and Fierceness, and are always stiff and peremptory in it. And all this while it is not any Opinion of their own, but that of other People; for they take all upon Trust, follow the Vogue and common Cry, are born away by Custom and Numbers, and run like Sheep; because they are led, and others have gone before them; not because the Thought is reasonable, or the Thing true in itself. * *There is no such thing as Judgment or Truth to be met with among the Vulgar; for they discern nothing. They are persuaded frequently by common Opinion, but very seldom by the Truth of the Thing.*

Tacit.

Cic.

4. They are envious and malicious, Enemies to good Men, Despisers of Virtue; they look upon the Wealth and Prosperity, the Successes and Advancements of others, with a jealous and an evil Eye. They always take the weakest and the worst Side; give countenance to Knaves, and hate Persons of Honour and Quality, without knowing any manner of Reason for it, except that one, that they are higher and better than themselves, more esteem'd, and well spoken of.

5. They are treacherous, false, and disloyal; they magnify every Report, enlarge and aggravate what is true, and make every thing ten times more and greater than it really is: You never know where nor when to have them: The Promise or Fidelity of the Mob, is like the Thought of a Child, born, and gone in an Instant: They change, not only

* Plebi non Judicium, non Veritas. Ex Opinione multa, ex Veritate pauca judicat.

as their Interest changes, but are blown and carried about to every Quarter, with the next Blast of idle Report, or vain Surmise; and every Hour of the Day makes a new Alteration in their Opinions and Affections.

They are eternally * *disposed to Mutiny and Faction, troublesome, and fond of Change; mortal Enemies to Peace, and Order, and Concord*; but especially, when they get any body to head or lead them on, for then they are insolent and insupportable. Like the Sea, which is smooth and calm by Nature, but when put into Agitation by the Winds, it swells, and curls, and foams, and roars; just so the Madness of the People is blown up, and bears down all with the impetuous Torrent. And again, Take off their Ring-leaders, and they fall flat before you, are all in Disorder and Confusion, and quite dead with Fear, and Terror, and Astonishment; † *Inconsiderate and Fearful, Cowardly and Dispirited*.

6.
Salut.

Tacit.

They countenance and support busy, troublesome Fellows, and admire those most who are ever blaming, and disturbing the Administration of Affairs. Modesty passes with them for Cowardice, and prudent Caution for Stupidity and Heaviness. On the contrary, Fierceness and blind Fury is commended and ador'd, under the specious, but false Titles of Courage and Bravery. Those that

7-

* Ingenio mobili, seditiosum, discordiosum, cupidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adversum.

† Sine rectore præceps, pavidus, fociors; nil ausura Plebs Principibus amotis.

Book I.



have hot Heads, and itching Hands, are preferr'd by them infinitely before Men of sound Judgment that weigh things nicely, and never proceed but upon mature Deliberations. And flashy prating Coxcombs take more with them, than plain, reserved Persons, of solid and sober Sense.

Tacit.

They have no regard at all for the publick Good, nor for Virtue or Decency, but all their Thoughts center in private and Personal Advantage; they look no higher nor farther than themselves, and take up unaccountable Piques at those that oppose their Profit. All their Diligence is mercenary, all their Zeal is sordid; nothing is so vile, but Profit will reconcile them to it. † *Every Man hath a private Spur within, and the Honour or Benefit of the Publick is of no Regard or Concern with them.*

9. They are perpetually growling and repining at the Government; ready to burst with Discontent, and venting their supposed Grievances in all manner of insolent and base Language; aspersing those that are set over them, and loading them with the most virulent Reproaches. Men of low Condition and small Fortunes comfort themselves this way: It is almost the only Pleasure they find to speak ill of the Rich, and the Great; and this, not because they have any just Provocation, or Reason so to do, but purely out of Envy and Ill-nature, which never suffers them to rest satisfy'd with their Governors, and the present Posture of Affairs.

† Privata cuique stimulatio, vile decus publicum.

But

But they are all Talk and Froth; without Matter, without Reason; their Minds never advance, nor stir one step; their Tongues are always in action, and never lie still. They are a sort of Monster, made up of nothing but Tongue; in at All, and know Nothing; prying into every thing, and yet blind, and see nothing; any thing pleases and makes them laugh, and any thing discontents and makes them cry. They are always in readiness for Mutiny and Rebellion, bluster, and swagger, and threaten; but these forward Men in Design and Discourse, take care to sleep in a whole Skin, and are the backwardest in Fight, and upon the Approach of Danger. For their Property is, to be always struggling to shake off their Yoke, and much better at trying for Liberty, than keeping it when they have it. † *The Temper of the Mobile*, (say the Roman Historians very truly) is *Sawciness and Insolence; their Tongues are fierce and talkative, their Courage when it comes to tryal, Tameness and mere Nothing*; and all the Bravery they put on, ends in empty Boasts and Bullying.

Chap. 52.
10.

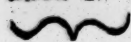
Salust.
Tacit.

They never know when to give over, but are always running into Extremes; absolute Strangers to Moderation and Decency. Either you have them cringing, and fawning, and descending to the vilest and basest submission of Slaves; or else insolent, and tyrannical, and domineering, beyond all Measure, beyond all Patience. They cannot endure the Rein when gently manag'd; nor be content to enjoy a reasonable Liberty, and Such Indulgences and Terms as are fit for them; but

11.

• Procacia plebis Ingenia, Impigræ Linguæ, Ignavi Animi.

Book I.



are eternally either flying out, or falling under their Rider: Too confident, or too distrustful of their own Strength; too bold, or too tame; transported with Hope, or quite dispirited with Fear. They always bring Matters to this Issue, that if you do not make them stand in awe of You, they will make You stand in awe of them. When once you have humbled and terrify'd them soundly, you may give them a Bit and a Knock, put out their Eyes, trample upon their Necks; nothing is so reproachful, but they will bear it. But if you do not shew them the Rod, and make them sensible who is their Driver, they grow proud, and daring, and turbulent. There is no such thing as Ingenuity, or a Sense of good Usage to be expected from them; and hence comes that Proverb, commonly apply'd to those churlish Wretches, that grow upon them, who treat them gently, and would win them by Favour and Kindness. *Stroke him and he'll spurn You; spurn him and he'll stroke You.* * *The Vulgar know no Mean; they affright unless they fear; and when they are in fear, they may be safely despised.* † *They are troublesomly bold, when out of Apprehension of a stronger Hand; the humblest Servants, or the haughtiest Masters: But for Liberty and Moderation, they pretend to value them most, but know how to practise and enjoy them least.*

Tacit.

Livy.

12.

They are scandalous more especially for Ingratitude to their best and most generous Benefactors.

* Nil in vulgo modicum, terrere nisi paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni.

† Audacia turbidum nisi vim metuat; aut servit humilliter, aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media, nec spernere, nec habere.

The Thanks and Recompence which those Great Men have generally met with, that expended their Blood, and Treasure, and Labours in the Service of the Publick, and have deserved most at their Hands, are Banishment, or Disgrace; an open Accusation or a general Calumny; a Conspiracy, or an untimely Death. Histories both Sacred and Profane furnish infinite Instances, and are more full of no One thing, than celebrated Examples of this kind. *Moses*, and all the Prophets; *Socrates*, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Lycurgus*, *Demosthenes*, *Themistocles*, and many other venerable Names in Antiquity, are lasting indelible Monuments of this base Disposition. Nay, *Truth it self* told the *Jews*, that not any of them who made it their Business to promote the Happiness and Salvation of that People, had escaped the Malice and Violence of them or their Forefathers. But quite contrary, those that oppress, and keep them under, they cherish and make much of; fear and admire all they do; when the loss of Power and Freedom hath depress'd their Minds, and made them slavish too.

Matt. xxiii.

In short; the Mob is a savage Beast; all its Thoughts are Vanity, its Opinions and Assertions erroneous and false; the Good is commonly rejected and condemned, the Evil approved and applauded by them. The Commendations they give are Infamous, and their Projects and Undertakings, Folly. For *Seneca* hath told us long since, that
* *Matters are not so well with Mankind, as that most Voices should be on the best side. For the common Crowd is*

13.

* Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant; Argumentum pessimi turba est.

a sbrewd

Book I. *a shrewd Argument that what is so liked is very bad.*

~~~~~ In short, the Rabble is the Mother of Ignorance, Injustice, Inconstancy, and Adorer of Vanity; and the studying to please them can never turn to true Account. They give indeed for their Motto, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*: But we may say very truly, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of Foolish and Mistaken Men*. And one of the first Principles of *Wisdom*, is to wash one's Hands, and get quite dispossessed of all popular and general Opinions, and to proceed clearly, and without any manner of Byass or Prejudice, in our Enquiries after *Truth and Virtue*. This will be quickly illustrated in our *Second Book*; toward which we are now drawing on apace.

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*The Fourth Distinction of Men,  
taken from their different  
Professions, Circumstances,  
and Manner of Living.*

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## P R E F A C E.

*WE* are now about to take another Difference between some Men and others, into Consideration; which depends upon their different Professions, Conditions, and Ways of Life. Some follow a Life of Business and Company; others avoid this, and make their Escape out of the World, by running into Solitude. Some are fond of Arms and a Camp, others hate and abhor them: Some have their Substance in common, others have their own distinct Properties. Some are fond of Offices and Employments, and would fain live in Publick, and be conspicuous in the World: Others decline these when they might have them, and affect to live privately and unobserv'd. Some are absolute Courtiers to every Body, and upon all Occasions; others regard and make court to nothing but themselves. Some prefer the Diversions of the Town, and others the Pleasures of the Country. It is not easy, nor is it indeed at all necessary and pertinent to our present Purpose, that I should take upon me to determine which of all these Men is most to be commended for the Wisdom of his Choice; for every  
one



*one of these Ways of living hath its Advantages and Disadvantages; some particular Good, and some Evil, that attends, and is not to be separated from it. That which would be much more worth our Consideration and Pains, is to inform each of these in his Duty; for the main Point of all is, that this Choice be wisely made, and so as may suit best with every one's Temper and Abilities; and then after he hath chosen, that the Man be instructed how to make himself the most easy under it, and to make the best Improvement of it that the Case will bear. This must be our Business hereafter; but at present we will say just one single Word of each of these Conditions, and compare them a little with one another. Only permit, in the first Place, that I make some short Observations upon that Life which is common to Men in all Capacities, and which may be distinguish'd into three Sorts or Degrees.*

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## C H A P. LIII.

*The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, distinguish'd and compar'd together.*

**I**T is easy to observe three distinct Sorts, and as it were Degrees of Life, common to Men in general: One *Private*, in which every Man is unavoidably concern'd; for by this I mean only what passes with each Man's self, within, and in regard to his own Breast. The second is *Domestick*, in one's own House and Family, with regard to what passes at home, and in our ordinary Course of Affairs.

fairs. The third is *Publick*, and respects what is expos'd to the common View of the World. In the first of these there is no manner of Restraint; in the second no Pains or Study to recommend one's Behaviour, as being not accountable for our own Management to them that live under our own Roof and Government; but all the Reserve, and Artifice, and Diffimulation, is in a manner appropriated to the last of these. Now it is much more difficult to be regular and exact in the first of these Degrees, than in either of the other; and the Examples of Persons that are, or have been so, have been infinitely fewer; and so in proportion the Case stands with the second too, in comparison of the third sort. The Reason is obvious and evident. For where there is no Body to judge, or controul, or countermand; nay, where there is not so much as a Spectator to observe our Actions; where we have no Apprehension of Punishment for doing amiss, no Expectation of Reward for doing well, we are much more remiss and careless in our Behaviour. Reason and Conscience are here the only Guides we have to follow; and although these may be some Check, yet that is not comparable to the Restraints we feel, when placed in open View, and made the common Mark of all, who must needs see, and will take a Freedom of censuring our Actions. Applause and Glory, fear of Scandal and Reproach, or some other Passion of the like Nature, are much more powerful Motives; these carry and manage us after a very different manner. (And indeed the greatest Part of Mankind are more govern'd by Passions of this Nature, than by any strict Sense of Duty, and regard to Virtue.) These put us  
upon

upon our Guard, and teach us Prudence upon force. And from the Influence of these it is, that many People have the Reputation of holy and excellent Persons; and behave themselves as such in the Eye of the World; who yet in Reality, and at the bottom, are mere Hypocrites, stark nought, and rotten at the Core, and have not one commendable Quality belonging to them. What passes before Men is all Farce and Counterfeit; we put it on for Convenience, and are concern'd to appear thus to the Spectators; but the Truth of us is conceal'd, and the Man can have no true Judgment made of him, but from what he does in private and alone. We must see him in his constant and every-day's Dress, and strip him of those Ornaments that set him off when he comes abroad: We must know his Temper and his usual Deportment, for all the rest is Fiction and Constraint. \* *All the World are Actors, and play their Parts to please the Audience.* And it was well observ'd by a wise Man, That none are good, except such as are so inwardly, and by themselves: And that Virtue is always the same; as cautious, as prudent upon the account of Conscience, as it is in Obedience to the publick Laws and Customs of the World; as fearful of offending one's own self, and as careful to avoid the Condemnation of one's own Breast, when no Eye sees us, as it is of the Observation and Reproaches of all Mankind. Publick Actions, such as Exploits in War, delivering an Opinion in Senate or Council, discharging an Embassy, governing a Nation, or the like, are bright and loud; every Body sees,

\* *Univcrsus mundus exercet histrioniam.*



every Body hears of them; and therefore these are performed with all possible Diligence and Circumspection; but such private and domestick ones, as Chiding, Laughing, Selling and Buying, Borrowing and Paying, and conversing with our own Families, and most intimate Acquaintance, are silent and dark; they make no Noise, fear no Discovery, and are therefore thought worthy very little, or not any Attention or Consideration at all. Nay, we are sometimes scarce so much as sensible of them when we do them. And if in these, Men be so unthinking, a little Reflection will soon convince us, that they are infinitely more so, in those yet more secret and merely internal; such as Loving, Hating, Desiring, of which none is or can be conscious, but their own Minds.

There is one Thing more fit to be observed upon this Occasion, and a very sad and wicked Thing it is, (*viz.*) That Men, being depraved by a kind of Hypocrisy natural to them, have taught themselves and others to make a greater Conscience, and be infinitely more scrupulous and concern'd for their outward Behaviour; (which consists in Shew, and Form, and is perfectly free and at their own Disposal, of no Consequence in the World, but all over Set-Countenance and Ceremony, Things of no real Difficulty, and as little Substance and Effect) than they are for inward Miscarriages, or private Actions; (such as are buried in Secrecy, and make no Figure, but yet are highly expedient and necessary, very valuable in themselves, and therefore very difficult.) For upon these last, the reforming of our Souls,  
the

the moderating of our Passions, and the regulating our whole Life and Conversation depends. And yet the former are not only preferred before them in our Care and Concern, but the Matter is so ordered, that even they who find themselves well disposed, will by constant Study and Sollicitude to discharge those outward Actions punctually, degenerate into Formality of Course, and by insensible Degrees grow cold and negligent in their Regard for the others.

Now, of all these Sorts, it is plain, that the Men (As Hermits, for instance) who live in perfect Solitude, and have but one of these three, that of the internal and most private Life only to take care of, are upon better Terms, and have an easier Task to discharge, than those that have two: And so likewise he that hath the domestick Care added to the former, and so lies under a Duty in two Capacities, is exposed to less Difficulty than the Persons of a Publick Life and Character, upon whom the Care of all the three Degrees is incumbent.

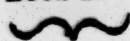
## C H A P. LIV.

*A Life of Company and Business, compar'd with one of Retirement and Solitude.*

THEY that upon all Occasions recommend and cry up a *Solitary Life*, are so far certainly in the Right, that it is an excellent Means of  
Ease

Ease and Quiet; a sure Retreat from the Hurry and Troubles of the World; a very proper and effectual Defence against the Vices and Extravagances of a profligate Age; which are commonly propagated by Infection and Example; and are very likely to spread and reign, where much the greater Part of those we converse with, are already tainted with the Disease. For not one in a Thousand is virtuous and good; the Number of Fools is infinite, and the thicker the Crowd, the greater the Danger. Thus far, I say, they have Reason on their Side; for ill Company is certainly one of the most fatal and ensnaring Things in the World; and that, not only in Regard of the Corruption, but of the Punishment and Vengeance it exposes Men to. Accordingly we may observe how very careful Men that went to Sea used to be, that no Blasphemer or profane Person should embark in the same Vessels, no profligate, wicked Wretch to endanger their Safety, or render their Voyage disastrous or unsuccessful. One single *Jonas* you see, whom God was angry with, had like to have lost all the Ship's Crew: And *Bias*, when some wicked Wretches call'd upon their Gods in a Storm, made them this ingenious Reproof by way of Raillery, *Hold your peace, that they may not discover such vile Wretches as you are on board.* *Albuquerque*, who was Viceroy of the *Indies* under *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, when in extreme Danger, laid hold on a young Boy, and clung fast to him, that so his Innocence might be a Shelter and Sancturay to him against the Wrath of God. So beneficial hath Virtue been esteemed, and so destructive Vice, not only to the guilty, or the vicious Persons themselves,





but to all that are concerned with them, or come within the Reach of their Influence.

But yet to esteem a Life thus retired and at a Distance from Evil, absolutely the best, and most excellent ; to think it better qualified than any other, for the Exercise and Perfection of Virtue ; to call it more difficult and unpleasant, more laborious and painful than any other, as some who extol a voluntary renouncing the World, would fain persuade us to believe, is a mighty Error in themselves, or a gross Cheat upon other People. For, quite contrary, it is the most effectual Expedient of throwing off the Cares and troublesome Encumbrances of Life, and rendering it light and easy ; and to say the very best of it, is but a very mean and moderate Attainment, an imperfect Beginning, or rather a mere Disposition to be virtuous. It is, not to meddle with Business, to abandon Difficulties and Troubles : But how is this done ? It is not by engaging with, and bravely overcoming them, but by cowardly running away, declining the Combat, and hiding ones self from them. It is to play least in Sight, and be buried alive, for fear we should not live well when we are seen. No Doubt is to be made, but a Prince, a Magistrate, or Parochial Priest, are more perfect, more valuable, when good in their kind, than Monks and Hermits : For in truth, such Societies and Seminaries were only design'd to prepare Men for Dignities and Business ; to qualify them for Society and the World. And Colleges and Cloisters do not give, but only lead Men to Usefulness and Perfection. He that maintains his Post in the World, and satisfies the Duty which the several

veral

## *A Life of Company, and of Solitude.* 547

Chap 54.

veral Relations and Capacities he stands in require from him; that converses with Wife, and Children, and Servants, and Neighbours, and Friends; that manages his own Estate, and engages in Business fit for his Condition; He, I say, that undertakes to act so many different Parts, and to answer the several Characters as becomes him, hath incomparably more Work upon his Hands, and is infinitely more valuable, if he perform it, than the recluse, who is determin'd to one single thing, and hath only the Duty to himself to take care of: For Company and Variety of Conversation is infinitely more hazardous than Solitude; and Plenty much harder to manage than Want. In a State of Abstinence, and Freedom from Business, a Man hath but one Pass to guard; in the Use and Management of several Things, many Considerations must be attended to, many Duties discharged, and he lies open to Attacks from several Quarters at once. And there is no Doubt in the World to be made, but a Man may much more easily conquer himself to disclaim and refuse Riches and Honours, great Offices and gainful Preferments, than he can govern himself in the Use, or come off with Virtue and just Commendation in the Discharge of them. It is no very difficult Matter to live without a Wife; but to live with a Wife, and behave oneself in all Respects, as a Husband ought to do; to order and educate Children, and bear a due Regard, and make fit Provisions for a Family, and all its Dependencies; is a Task Men seldom give themselves the trouble to consider. But they that do, and make a right Judgment of it, will be very far from extolling Celibacy, as some do, or think it an Argu-

Book I.

ment of higher Virtue, or a State of greater Difficulty than Marriage.

2. Nor are Men less mistaken, when they suppose that *Solitude* is a safe Shelter from all Manner of Vice; and that he, who takes Sanctuary in it, and sequesters himself from the World, rides in Harbour, and is out of the Reach of Tempests and Temptations; for these find a Way to pursue, and overtake us even there. This is indeed a convenient Retreat from the Corruptions of ill Company; from the Clutter and Crowd of Cares and Business, and the Mischiefs that threaten and come upon us from Without; but there are other Enemies and Dangers from Within, which we always carry about us, and cannot run away from, spiritual and internal Difficulties, domestick and peculiar Evils; and the Scripture takes express Notice, that the *Wilderness* was the Place, where our Saviour was assaulted, and *tempted by the Devil*. Retirement is a dangerous Weapon in the Hands of Young Men; such as are hot and imprudent, rash and unskilful; and there is great Reason to fear, that, what *Crates* said to a Young Man whom he found walking all alone, is generally true of such Persons; and that such, when they are by themselves, are in very bad Company. This is the Place where Fools lay their wicked Projects; here they find Leisure and Opportunities for contriving their own Ruin; here they cherish and indulge unlawful Desires; file, and polish, and refine upon their own Passions, without Observation, without Controul. A Man had need be very wise, to know how to make the best Use of Privacy; watchful and well fortified, before he is fit to be trusted

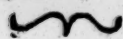


trusted with himself; for many times ones own Hands are the very worst he can be put into. It is an excellent Petition which the *Spaniards* use, even to a Proverb. \* *O Lord, I beseech thee, preserve me from my self. Very few indeed have Discretion enough to be left to themselves; and nothing is so bad, but Secrecy and Solitude are powerful Temptations to comply with it.* But for Men to take up their Heels, and skulk in a Corner, upon any private and personal Consideration, though it be a lawful and commendable one in itself, which is yet the best, and not always the Truth of the Case ( for very often Cowardice, and Weakness of Spirit, Peevishness and Pets, or some other discontented or vicious Passion is at the Bottom of all this pompous and pretended Contempt of the World ) is to turn Deserter, and not dare to stand to our Arms. There is a mighty Difference between forsaking the World, and falling out with it; between conquering, and not hazarding our Persons in the Engagement. And when Men are in a Capacity of becoming beneficial to others, and may be Instruments of great and general Good, to excuse themselves from serving the Publick, and abandon all Society, when they might adorn and be useful in it, is to betray their Trust, to *bury their Talent in a Napkin; to hide the Candle* which God hath lighted, *under a Bushel*, when the setting it on a Candlestick might enlighten others, and do great Service to *all that are in the House*. It requires then much Deliberation, and many uncommon Circumstances, to give Men a

\* *Guarda mí, Dios de mí.*

*Nemo est ex imprudentibus, qui sibi relinqui debeat. Solitudo omnia persuadet.*

Book I.



Right thus to dispose of Themselves. And they who presume to do it merely out of private Considerations, and make the Publick no part of their Concern, are so far from deserving to be applauded for their Virtue and Resignation, that they are guilty of a great Fault, and liable to very just and severe Censure.

## C H A P. LV.

*A Life in Common, compared with that of distinct Properties.*

SOME Persons have been of Opinion, that a *Life*, where all things are *in Common*, and there is no such Distinction as *Mine* or *Thine*, hath the greatest Tendency to Perfection, and is best accommodated for the cherishing and maintaining of Charity and Concord, and Union among Men. But Experience shews us daily, that whatever Conveniencies it may really have of this kind, yet are they not so great, nor so effectual to the Purposes before-mention'd, as those Persons have imagined. For in the first Place, whatever Appearance there may be outwardly of Kindness and good Agreement, yet there is no such thing as an entire and hearty Affection, nor the same tender Regards for that which is in Common, as a Man finds where he alone is concern'd. To this purpose it is that we have two Proverbs, *The College Horse is always ill saddled*; and *Every Body's Business is No Body's Business*. Men consider, that Others are equally concern'd

cern'd in the Care, and in the Damage; that the Loss is not immediately their own, and that each Member of the Society stands in that respect equally related to them, and that begets a Coldness and Indifferency among them. But, which is a great deal worse, this State does naturally produce Quarrels and Discontents, Murmuring and mutual Hatred; every Community is but too full a Demonstration of it, and the very Holiest and Best that ever was, the Primitive Church it self, could not, you see, be exempted from the Misfortune. For, though the Institution design all Things should be equal, yet unless you could make the Desires of the Persons so too, they will always be full of Complaints, and Jealous, that some are preferred, and others neglected; like the *Grecians* and their Widows in the daily Distributions. The Nature of *Love* is like that of great Rivers; which, while they continue united in one Stream, are navigable, and carry Vessels of vast Burden; but if you cut them into fresh Channels, and divide the Water, they are no longer serviceable in that kind; and thus, when Mens Affections are divided, and parted, as it were, among a great many Objects, not any one of those Persons or Things is of very tender Concern; for all the Force and Vigor of the Passion is scattered and broke to Pieces. Now, in a *Life of Community*, there are several Degrees; *To live*, that is, to eat and drink together at a common Table, is very decent and well, (thus we find it practised in some of the best and most ancient Commonwealths, as *Lacedæmon* and *Crete* particularly) such publick Meals are very useful for the teaching Men to be modest and reserved,

Chap. 55.

Acts. vi.



Book I.

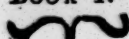
and keeping up Discipline, Society, and good Order; and they do also minister Occasion for great Variety of very useful and improving Discourse. But to think of pulling up the Fences and Inclosures, and lay all in common, is a wild Imagination. *Plato* was once of this Opinion, but he thought better of it afterwards. And indeed the Project would be so far from reconciling and uniting all, that the certain Consequence of it would be to overturn and confound all.

## C H A P. LVI.

*A Town and a Country Life compared together.*

**T**HIS is a Comparison very easy for any Man who is a true Lover of Wisdom, to make; for almost all the Advantages lie on one side. The Pleasures and Conveniences both of Body and Mind, Liberty, Contemplation, Innocence, Health, and Delight. In the *Country* a Man's Mind is free and easy, discharg'd, and at his own Disposal: But in the *City* the Persons of Friends and Acquaintance, one's own and other People's Business, foolish Quarrels, ceremonious Visits, impertinent Discourse, and a thousand other Fopperies and Diversions steal away the greatest part of our Time, and leave no Leisure for better and more necessary Employment. What infinite Perplexities, Avocations, Distractions of the Mind, and, which is worst of all, what abominable Debaucheries, and Depravations of Manners,

ners, does such a Life expose Men to? Great Towns are but a larger sort of Prisons to the Soul, like Cages to Birds, or Pounds to Beasts. This celestial Fire within us will not endure to be shut up, it requires Air to brighten and make it burn clear; which made *Columella* say, that a Country Life is Cousin-German to Wisdom; for a Man's Thoughts cannot be idle; and when they are set loose from the World, they will range and expatiate freely in noble and profitable Meditations. But how shall a Man hope to command his Thoughts, or pretend to call them his own, in the midst of all the Clutter, and Business, the Amusements, nay, the Confusions of the Town? A Country Life is infinitely more plain, and innocent, and disposed to Purity and Virtue. In Cities Vice assembles in Troops; the very Commonness of it makes it unobserv'd; it hardens and reconciles us to the Practice, Example, and Custom; and the meeting with it at every Turn, makes the thing familiar; and thus the Disease seizes us strongly and presently, and we are gone all on the sudden, by living in the midst of the Infection. Whereas in the Country, those Things are seen or heard with Abhorrence and Amazement, which the Town sees and does every Day without Remorse or Concern. As for Pleasure and Health, the clear Air, the Warmth and Brightness of the Sun, not polluted with the sultry Gleams and loathsome Stenches of the Town; the Springs and Waters, the Flowers and Groves, and, in short, all Nature is free, and easy, and gay; the Earth unlocks her Treasures, refreshes us with her Fruits, feeds every Sense, and gives us such Entertainment, as Cities know nothing of, in the stifling



stiffing Prefs of Houses; so that to live there, is to shut one's self up, and be banish'd from the World. Besides all this, a Country Retirement is more active and fit for Exercise; and this creates an Appetite, preserves and restores Health and Vigor, hardens the Body, and makes it lusty and strong. The greatest Commendation of the Town is, Convenience for Business and Profit. It is indeed the Seat of Trade and private Gain, and therefore fit to be the Darling of Merchants and Artificers: And it is the Place accommodated to Publick Administrations; but this latter but a very small part of Mankind are called to, or capable of. And History tells us, that heretofore excellent Persons were fetch'd out of the Country, to undertake Affairs of the greatest Importance; and as soon as they had finish'd these, they retir'd again with wonderful Delight, and made the Town not a Matter of Choice, but Necessity and Constraint: This was a short Scene of Labour and Business to them; but the Country was the Seat of their Pleasure, and more constant Residence.

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## C H A P. LVII.

### *Of a Military Life.*

**T**HE Profession and Employment of a *Soldier*, if we respect the Cause and Original Design of it, is very worthy and honourable; for it pretends to protect the Safety, and promote the Grandeur of one's native Country; to preserve it in

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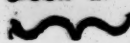
Peace,



Peace, and guard it from the Insults of Enemies abroad, and turbulent Spirits at home; than which nothing can be more just, nothing more universally beneficial. It is also noble and great in the Execution of this Design: For *Courage*, which is its proper Quality and Character, is the bravest, most generous, most heroick of all Virtues: And of all human Actions and Exploits, those of War are the most celebrated and pompous; insomuch, that the Titles and Ensigns of Honour borrow their Names from, and are assign'd as Rewards to them. It hath also many Pleasures peculiar to it; the Conversation of Men of the first Quality, in Heat of Youth, and full of Fire and Activity; the being familiarly acquainted with strange Accidents and wonderful entertaining Sight; Freedom of Behaviour, and Converse without Trick or Art; a masculine and hardy way of living, above Ceremony or Form; Variety of Attempts and Successes; the moving Harmony of warlike Musick, which entertains the Ears, charms all the Senses, warms the Soul, and inspires it with Valour; the Gracefulness of Motion and Discipline, that transport and delight us with a pleasing Horror; that Storm of Shouts and Alarms, which the louder it grows, the more ravishing and animating it is; and the roaring Ordnance of so many thousand Men that fall on with incredible Fury and Eagerness.

But when all these, and as many more Excellencies, as its most zealous Patrons can attribute to this *Calling*, have been allow'd, every reasonable Man must acknowledge on the other hand, that the plundering, undoing, murdering one another, and especially the making these a Matter of Art  
and

Book I.



and Study, a Science and a Commendation, seems highly unnatural, and the Effect of Barbarity and Madnefs. Nothing is a stronger Evidence against Mankind, of their Weaknefs, and Imperfection, and foul Degeneracy; for it sets us below the very Brutes themselves, in the most savage of which the original Impressions of Nature are not defac'd to this scandalous Degree. What an infinite Folly, what an execrable Rage is it, to create all this Disturbance, and turn the World upside-down, to encounter and run thro' so many Hazards by Sea and Land, for a Prize so very doubtful and full of Chance, as the Event of a Battel? Why should we make Campaigns abroad, and turn Volunteers to foreign Princes, to run with so much Eagerness and Appetite after Death, (which may be found, nay, which, of its own Accord, meets us at home, and offers itself every where) and that without proposing to ourselves so much as decent Burial? To fall on, and kill Men that we have no Spite, no Resentment against; nay, Men that are absolute Strangers, and whom we never saw in all our Lives? Why this mighty Heat and Fury to one that hath done thee no Hurt, given thee no Provocation? What a Madnefs is it to venture Loss of Limbs and Blood, Wounds and Bruises, which when they do not take Life quite away, make it subject to Remedies and Pains a thousand times more grievous and insupportable than Death? Had you Obligations of Duty and Conscience, it were another Matter; but to do this for Breeding and Fame, to sacrifice and destroy one's self for a Man that you never saw, who hath no manner of Tenderness or Concern for you; and only strives to  
mount

mount upon the dead or maim'd Body, that he may stand a little higher, and enlarge his own Prospect: Nothing but very weighty Reasons, and the necessary Defence of all that is dear to us, can make such an Undertaking prudent and commendable: And in such Cases all personal Considerations ought to be despised as much as otherwise they are fit to be valu'd. And I hope too, the Reader takes notice all along, that I speak of those who chuse the Trade for mercenary Ends, or out of false Notions of Gallantry; and not with any Intention to discourage the Duty of Subjects to their Prince, whose just Quarrels they ought always to account their own.

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*The Fifth and Last Difference  
between some Men and o-  
thers ; taken from the Ad-  
vantages and Disadvanta-  
ges, by which Nature or  
Fortune hath distinguished  
them.*

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HIS last Distinction is abundantly notorious and visible to every Eye; it hath indeed several Branches and Considerations included under it; but all I think may be conveniently enough reduced to two general Heads; which, according to the vulgar way of Expression, may be termed Happiness and Unhappiness; being high or low in the World. To that of Happiness or Greatness, belong Health, Beauty, and other Qualifications and Advantages of Body and Person, Liberty, Nobility, Honour, Authority, Learning, Riches, Reputation, Friends. In Unhappiness or Meanness of Condition are comprehended the Contraries of all these, which, without naming particularly, we easily understand to be the Privation or Want of the fore-mentioned Advantages. Now these Particulars are  
the

*the Occasion of infinite Variety in Men's Circumstances and Conditions of Life; for a Man may be happy in the Enjoyment of one, or two, or three of these Qualities, and yet not so in the rest; and even in those he hath, he may be happy in a greater or less Degree; and those Degrees are capable of being so many, that it is not easy, if at all possible, to express or conceive them. But upon the whole Matter, in the Distribution and Disposal of our Fortunes and Affairs, Providence hath so ordered it, that few or none should be either happy or unhappy in every one of these Respects. He then that partakes of most, and particularly those three Advantages, of Nobility, Dignity or Authority, and Riches, is esteem'd great; and he that hath none of those three, is reckoned among the mean Men. But several Persons have only one or two of the three; and so they stand in a sort of middle Capacity, between the two Extremes, and are neither high nor low. We will speak very briefly to each of them.*

As for *Health* and *Beauty*, and other Advantages that relate to the Body and Persons of Men, enough hath been said of them already; and so likewise of *Sickness* and *Pain*, which are Disadvantages contrary to them.

Chap. VI.

Chap. X.

## C H A P. LVIII.

*Of Liberty and Servitude.*

**L**iberty passes in the Esteem of many for a most eminent Advantage, and *Servitude* for a very grievous Evil; so exceeding great, that some have rather chosen to die, and that after a very barbarous and painful manner, than to be made Slaves or Captives; nay, rather than come into any danger of seeing their own, or their Country's Freedom and Properties infringed, or usurp'd upon. But as in all other Cases of the like Nature, so in this also, there may be a very criminal Excess of Partiality, and a fanciful Fondness of what we deservedly have a high esteem for. There is in truth a *twofold Liberty*; the true and proper sort is that of the Mind; for this is in every Man's own keeping and Disposal, no Body can wrest it out of our Hands, nothing can impair or encroach upon it, not even the Tyranny of Fortune itself. On the other side, the *Bondage of the Mind* is the heaviest, and most wretched of all others; to live a Slave to one's Appetites and Lusts; to lie down in our Chains, and let our Passions prey upon us; to be led by the Nose by Prejudice, and Error, and Superstition: O this! This is a miserable Captivity indeed. The *Liberty of one's Person* is really valuable, but still that lies at the Mercy of Fortune. And as valuable as it is, yet (unless it be attended with some very uncommon Circumstance



to enhance its Worth) there can never be Justice or Reason in giving it the Preference above Life itself, as some of the Ancients have done, who chose to suffer, nay, to inflict Death, and make it the Work of their own Hands upon themselves, rather than not die free: And even of this (to me seeming) Extravagance, we find large Commendations, as if it were a more exalted Virtue than ordinary, so very dreadful Notions had they then of *Slavery*. \* *It is* (says one of them) *the Obedience of an enfeebled and despicable Soul, that hath parted with its own Will.* And yet as vile as they represent this State, very great and very wise Men have liv'd in it; as *Regulus, Valerian, Plato, Epictetus*; and have had the Misfortune too of very wicked, unjust, and barbarous Masters; and yet they have never brought any dishonourable Reflections upon their Virtues, or thought themselves one whit the worse for it, because in truth and very deed, they still continu'd free, and at their own Disposal; much more so than the Masters, who pretended to Dominion over them.

\* *Servitus obedientia est fracti & abjecti Animi, arbitrio carentis suo.*

## C H A P. LIX.

## Of Nobility.

1. **N**obility is a Quality or Distinction receiv'd and valu'd in all Parts of the World: It is a Mark and an Attractive of Honour and Respect, instituted and brought into Use for very good Reasons, and much to the Benefit of the Publick.

2. *Description of it.* It is not every where the same, but differently reputed, and taken in divers Senses, according to the different Judgments of Men, and the Customs of the Countries where they live. From hence we find several Sorts or Species of it pretended to; but according to the common and most general Notion of the thing, it is the Quality of a Man's Family. *Aristotle* calls it, the *Antiquity of the Family*, and the *long Continuance of an Estate in it*. *Plutarch* terms it the *Virtue of the Family*; meaning by this, some certain Character, and particular good Quality, for which our Ancestors were eminent, and which hath been propagated in Succession, and is continu'd in the several Descendants of that House. Now what this Quality is in particular, which should merit such a Distinction, hath not been agreed on all hands. Some, and indeed the greater Part, will have it to be Atchievements in War: Others add, or equal to this, politick and civil Prudence; whereby Men become necessary to the State by their Counsels, as the former do in the Field. To these have likewise been added Eminence in Learning, and particular Offices in the

the Courts of Princes, as Accomplishments thought fit and sufficient to distinguish a Man's Family, and derive Honour down upon those that descend from him. But I think it must be acknowledg'd by all considering Persons, that the military Honours have the Advantage, and deserve a Preference above all the rest, both because the Qualities of this kind are most serviceable to the State in its greatest Exigencies and Distresses; and because it is the most painful and laborious, and exposes Men's Persons to the greatest and most apparent Dangers. From whence it is, that a particular Veneration and Respect, a louder Applause and Commendation is allowed universally to them; and that these by way of Eminence and Privilege, have attain'd to that distinguishing Character of Valour or Worth. Now according to this Opinion, two Things are necessary, and must both contribute as Ingredients to the Composition of that which is the *true* and *perfect Nobility*. First, There must be the Profession and Appearance of this Virtue or good Quality serviceable to the Publick, and this is as it were the Form; and then there must be the Family in which, as in the Matter or proper Subject, this Quality is inherent; that is, there is requir'd a long uninterrupted Continuation of it, thro' several Descents, and Time out of mind. Hence, according to the vulgar Jargon, they are stiled *Gentlemen*, that is, Persons who are Branches and Descendants of the same Blood and House; bearing the same Name, and the same Profession of this distinguishing Quality for several Generations. That Person then is truly, properly, and entirely noble, who



Book I. makes singular Profession of some Publick Virtue; that renders himself useful and remarkable in the Service of his Prince and his Country; and is sprung from Relations and Ancestors, who have done the same before him, in the respective Ages when they liv'd.

<sup>3.</sup>  
*This distin-*  
*guished.* Some, it is true, have separated these two Qualifications, and consider'd them apart, as being of Opinion, that one of these singly, that is, *personal Virtue* and *Worth*, without any Advantages of *Birth*, is sufficient to entitle a Man to this Honour. They think it hard that Men should be excluded merely upon Consideration of their Ancestors wanting the Excellencies which they have rendred themselves conspicuous for. Now this is a *personal* and *acquir'd Nobility*; and very valuable it is; but yet the Vogue and Custom of the World hath so far obtain'd, that they think it very hard too, for the Son of a Cobler, a Butcher, or a Plough-Man, to start up noble, and be rank'd among the most ancient Honours, let his Service to the Publick have been never so great and valuable. But yet this Opinion hath got good footing in several Nations, and particularly among the *Turks*. For they have no regard at all to a Man's *Blood*, the Nobility of his Ancestors, or the Antiquity of his Descent; they look upon these Considerations to be full of unreasonable Partiality, Checks and Discouragements to Men's Bravery; and therefore, to cherish the Inclinations of doing gloriously, they lay the whole Stress upon personal Performances and Accomplishments; and particularly upon actual Courage, and those Excellencies that are purely military. The other Part of this Distinction,

inction, is that which consists in the *Antiquity* Chap 59.  
of a Man's *Family* only, where the Pretensions  
to *Nobility* are merely upon the Account of his  
*Progenitors*, without any Profession of such a Qua-  
lity as was before mention'd and explain'd; and  
this is a *Nobility* which runs in the *Blood*, and is  
purely natural.

If we would state the Comparison between these  
two Sorts thus divided, and each imperfect when  
single and by itself, that which is purely natural  
cannot but appear to any Man of sound Judgment,  
the less worth and more defective of the two, tho'  
a great many People think, or at least express them-  
selves otherwise upon the Matter: But it is the  
Effect of most egregious Folly, or insufferable Va-  
nity so to do. The *natural* is an Accomplishment  
entirely anothers, and not in any Degree one's own.

\* For Ancestors divine Original,  
And Deed not done by us, we ours miscall.

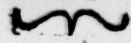
SANDYS.

No other Person hath lived for our Honour; nor ought  
that to be reputed ours, which was long before we had  
a Being; and what can be more senseless, than for  
a Man to look big, and to value himself upon a  
thing which is none of his? This is what may hap-  
pen to the most vicious and profligate, the most  
trifling and insignificant Wretch alive; it may be

\* Genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra voco. OVID.

Nemo vixit in gloriam nostram; nec quod ante nos fuit, no-  
strum est.

Book I.



the Portion of Fools, and Knaves, and Villains. Nor is it of any manner of Use or Advantage to others; it is not capable of being communicated to the Profit of those with whom we have any Dealings or Conversation; it contributes nothing of Pleasure or Satisfaction in Society, as Learning, and Justice, and Goodness, and Beauty, and Riches do, but is perfectly idle and fruitless. Those who have nothing else to recommend them to the Respect of others, but only this *Nobility of Flesh and Blood*, cry it up at a great rate, and have their Mouths perpetually full of it. They swell and vapour, and you are sure to hear of their Families and great Relations every third Word. And indeed they do wisely and as becomes them; for this is making the best of their last and only Stake. And by this Mark they commonly distinguish themselves; for you may depend upon it there is no good Bottom, nothing of true Worth of their own; when they insist so much, and rest their Credit upon that of other Men. But alas! this is all Vanity and Shadow, and their Glory will be as fleeting and frail as that which the Prophet reproaches *Ephraim* with, when it arises from such mean and wretched Instruments, as *from the Earth, and from the Womb, and from the Conception*, and lies all bury'd in Dust and Rubbish underneath the Monuments of their Ancestors. These Men are like Criminals when they are hard pursu'd, that take Sanctuary at the Altars and Sepulchres of the Dead; and in some former Ages, laid hold on the Statues of the Emperors for Refuge; so when they are beaten out from all Pretensions to true Merit and Honour, from any Qualifications properly their own,

Hosea ix.

21.



own, they retreat behind the Banners and Achievements of their Forefathers, and make their last Recourse to *Monuments*, and *Pedigrees*, and *Coats of Arms*. But what Advantage can it be to a blind Man, that his Parents had good Eyes? Or how does it help the Infirmities of a Stammerer, that his Grandfather had a smooth and voluble Tongue? Does the former of these see one whit the better? or is the latter ever the more eloquent or intelligible for this? And yet they are the Men of Infirmities and great Defects, that are commonly your vain Boasters, haughty in their Deportment, insolent in Conversation, and treating with Contempt Men better than themselves, because some Body who is long since rotten in their Grave, was good in his Generation: So extremely absurd, and contrary to all the Rules of Equity and Common Sense, is this extravagant Notion of *Nobility* by *Descent* only. A Father by his Frugality and Prudence raised the Family, and therefore the Prodigal Son, who squanders all away, and beggars the Family, values himself upon the Prudence of his Father. A brave General deserv'd the first and best Promotion, and therefore his Great-Grandson, though a rank Coward, shall not only inherit his Titles and Estate, (in which there may be Reason, because Men esteem themselves rewarded by the Continuance of those external Forms and Honours to their Posterity) but this Coward shall really think himself a better Man than another brave Fellow with whom he converses, because his Great-Grandfather was brave. And yet, as extravagant as this Folly is in itself, it will be, and always hath been epidemical. For *Salust* observ'd even in his Time,

Book I.



5.  
Acquired  
and Personal,

\* *That Pride and a disdainful Temper, was an Evil that usually went along with Quality and good Birth.*

As for that other kind of *Nobility*, which is *personal* and *acquir'd*, the Condition of it is the very Reverse of the former. It hath very excellent Qualities and Effects; it is peculiar to the Possessor; he hath a full and indisputable Title, and Merit hath made it all his own: It cannot be dispensed promiscuously, nor fall upon a Man that will be a Dishonour to it; and it is of infinite Benefit and Advantage to all who converse, or can any way come to be concern'd with it. Nay, if we examine the Matter, it will be found that this hath the Advantage, even in the darling and so much-boasted Point of Antiquity too; and we are very sure, by sad Experience, that it is much more rare and uncommon than the natural. For from this it was, that the *natural* first took its beginning; the so much celebrated Ancestors got their *Nobility* this way; and their degenerate Offspring are beholden to it in the Persons of them, for all the Subject of their Vanity ever since. In short, this is real and substantial, it consists in Virtue, and Usefulness, and good Consequences to all Mankind; not empty, and dry, and a gay Idea; a Dream, and Creature of a deluded Imagination only: This proceeds from the Mind and the very Man, not from the Blood and Body; and Minds are the same; every whit as generous and great, and by Improvement and Industry frequently rendred more so in others; tho' the

☛ *Contemptor animus & superbia commune nobilitatis malum.*

Blood,

Blood may differ, and not be noble. \* *Who* (says Chap. 59. *Seneca*) *is a Gentleman? The Man, whom Nature hath disposed, and as it were cut out for Virtue; this Man is well born indeed: For the Man wants nothing else to make him noble, who hath a Mind so generous, that he can rise above, and triumph over Fortune, let his Condition of Life be what it will.*

But these two kinds dwell most amicably together, and often meet in the same Person, (as <sup>6.</sup> *Both together.*) indeed there seems a great Aptitude and Disposition for them to do) and when they center thus in one Person, then the *Nobility* is perfect and compleat. The *Natural* is an Introduction, and Occasion, a Spur to the *Personal*; for all things have a strong Tendency, and very easily revert to their first and natural Principle. And as the natural first took its Origin and Existence from the personal, so it inclines and leads the Persons so descended to imitate, nay, to emulate the Glories of their noble Progenitors. The Seeds of Virtue and Honour are in them already.

† *In Sons their Father's Virtues shine,  
And Souls as well as Faces keep the Line.*

*This one Advantage is observable in being nobly born, that it makes Men sensible they are allied to Virtue, and lays strong Obligations upon them not to degenerate from the Excellencies of their Ancestors. And sure there cannot be a more forcible Motive to spur and*

\* *Quis generosus? Ad Virtutem à Naturâ bene compositus, Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quâcunque conditione supra fortunam liceat surgere.*

† *Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis, &c. Hor. Ode iv. Lib. 4.*  
quicken

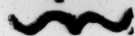


Book I.



quicken Men in the Pursuit of Glory, and the attempting great and noble Actions, than the being conscious to themselves, that they are come out of the Loins of those very Persons, who have behaved themselves gallantly, served their King and Country, and been eminent and useful in their Generations. Is it possible Men can please themselves with these Reflections to feed their Vanity, as it is manifest they do, and not think at the same time how vile and reproachful it is in them, to bastardize and bely their Race, to serve only as a Foil to their Forefathers Virtues, and cast back Darknes and Disgrace upon the Lustre of their Memories?

Nobility granted by the particular Patent, and partial Favour of a Prince, without any Merit to give a Title to it, and neither personal Accomplishments, nor an ancient Family to support and set it off, is rather a Blemish and Mark of Shame, than of Honour. It is a poor, pitiful, Parchment-Nobility, bought to supply a needy King, or to feed a hungry Courtier; the Price of Silver and Gold, or the Effect of Countenance and Access; not the Purchase of Blood and Sweat, as such Honours ought to be. But if it be granted for any singular Desert, and signal good Services, then it falls not within the Compass of this Notion; but is to be reputed personal and acquired, and hath a Right to all those Privileges and Commendations, which are said to belong to that sort of Nobility before.



## C H A P. LX.

## Of Honour.

**I**T is the Notion of some, but a very mistaken Notion sure it is, that Honour is the proper Price and Recompence of Virtue. Others have a little corrected this Notion, by calling it, the Acknowledgment of Virtue in the Persons to whom we pay it, or the Prerogative of a good Opinion first, and then of those outward Respects, whereby we testify that good Opinion; for it is most certainly a Privilege that derives its Essence and Nature principally from Virtue. Others call it Virtue's Shadow, which follows or goes before it; as the Shadow does the Substance and Body from whence it is reflected. But, to speak more properly, it is the Splendor or Fame of brave and virtuous Actions, darted out from the Soul upon the Eyes of the World, and then rebounding back again upon our selves, by that Demonstration it gives of what others think of us, and the mighty Satisfaction of the Mind resulting from this Sense of their good Esteem.

Now, *Honour* is so very highly esteemed, so very eagerly sought, that we generally baulk no Difficulty to come at it. We endure any thing for its sake, despise every thing in Comparison of it; even Life itself is not thought a Purchase too dear to compass it. And yet after all, this is but a thin, airy Business, uncertain and fickle; foreign and at  
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Book I.

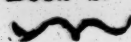
some Distance from the Person receiving it, and the Things for which it was paid. It is not only not essential to him, not any Part or Appurtenance of his Person and Substance, but it scarce ever comes home to him. For, generally speaking, this Deference is given to Persons either absent or dead; and if living, it is not accounted good Manners to praise them to their Faces; so that it waits without, and belongs to a Man's Name only; which bears all his Commendations and Disgraces, his Scandal, and his Respects; from whence one is said to bear a *good* or *wicked Name*.

Now, the *Name* is no Part of the *Nature of the Thing*, but only the Image which gives us a Representation of it. A Mark of Distinction, to know it from other Things by: In a word, somewhat that goes between the *Essence* of the Thing, and the *Honour* or *Dis honour* belonging to it. For it is applied to the Substance, and whatever is said of it, good or bad, falls upon this; and is born by it. Now *Honour*, before it rests upon the Name, fetches a kind of circular Flight, and makes some Stay upon the Action, the Heart and the Tongue. Whatever gallant, commendable Action is atchieved, is, as it were, the Root, the Source, the Parent which gives Birth and Being to Honour; for in truth, *Honour is nothing else, but the Lustre and Resplendence of some glorious, or beneficial, or otherwise noble Exploit*. Whatever Perfection a Thing hath in itself, with regard to its own intrinsick Worth; yet if it do not produce some Effect which is excellent, it is not capable of Honour; but to all Intents and Purposes of this kind, as if it had never been at all. The  
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next Advance is made into the Mind, where it first begins to live, and is form'd into good Opinions, and Venerable Esteem. Then it comes abroad in the last Place, and rides Triumphant upon Men's Tongues and Pens; and so reflects and returns back again, upon the Name of the Person, who did that Celebrated Action, from whence it first set out (as the Sun returns Daily to the Point from whence his Motion began,) and when it hath finish'd this Course, it from thenceforth carries the Name of Honour, Praise, Glory, Renown, or the like.

But to what Sorts of Performances this Recompence is due, hath been a Question much disputed. Some Persons have delivered their Opinion, that Honour does not only, nor properly consist in a Man's behaving himself well, where great and difficult Posts are to be filled and managed by him (for every Man's Circumstances will not furnish him with Opportunities of weighty Administrations) but in the faithful Discharge of the Duties of each Person's particular Profession, be the Capacity of the Man what it will. For all Commendation is the Effect and Reward of a Man's performing commendably, that which is his proper Business to do. Thus we find Reason and Common Sense, determine us in Publick Theatres, which are but so many Images in little of this Great Theatre of the Universe. The Condition and Splendor of the Character is not enquired into, nor weighs at all with our Judgments; but He, who upon the Stage, plays the Part of a Servant or Buffoon, if he do it well, and to the Life, meets with as much Applause, as if he had represented



sent a General, or an Emperor. And he that cannot work in Gold, if he shew the Perfection of his Art, and carve the Postures and Proportions well, in Copper, or in Plaster, is reputed a good Statuary; because this Excellence depends not upon the Fineness or Value of the Materials, but in the Skill shewed upon them. But yet it seems more reasonable to think, that Honour is an Advantage for something more Noble and Sublime than Ordinary; and that no Actions, but such only, which have Difficulty or Danger in them, can make just Pretensions to it. Those that are but just what they ought to be, such as our respective Stations require, and proceeding from a Sense of Obligation and Duty, cannot aspire to so great Worth, nor put in for so ample a Reward; a Reward which is disparaged by being made Common or Ordinary, and not suited to all Degrees of Persons and Performances. Thus every virtuous and chaste Wife, and every Man of Integrity and good Conduct, is not therefore a Person of Honour. For there must go more than Probity to the denominating them so; there must be Pains, and Difficulty, and Danger; nay, and, some will tell you, there must be somewhat of general Good, and Advantage to the Publick, to justify that Character in its full and true Extent. Let a Man's Actions be never so Good, never so Useful, if they be private and the Advantage redound to himself alone, another sort of Payment belongs to them. They will have the Approbation of his own Conscience; they will procure the Love, and Favour, and good Word of his Neighbours and Acquaintance; they will ensure his Safety, and put him under the Protection

tection of the Law; but except the Influence and Advantage of them be large and diffusive, they cannot come up to Honour; for Honour is a publick Thing, and implies more of Dignity; and comprehends Splendor and Noise, Admiration, and Common Fame in the Nature and Notion of it. Others add farther, that an Honourable Action must not be a part of our Duty, but perfectly free and supererogating; for if Men were obliged to it, all Pretension to Honour is lost.

The Desire of Honour, and Glory, and a Solicitous seeking the Approbation and good Opinion of Others, is a very vicious, violent and powerful Passion. The Inordinacy whereof hath been sufficiently explained and proved already in the Chapter concerning Ambition. But as Bad as it is in it self, it does great Service to the Publick. For it restrains Mens Extravagancies, and keeps them within the Bounds of Decency and Duty; it awakens their sleeping Powers, shakes off Sloth, and kindles in them generous Desires, inspires great Thoughts, and Glorious Actions. Not that it is much for their Credit to be acted and invigorated by so corrupt a Principle; but rather a Testimony and strong Evidence of the Weakness and Poverty of our Nature and Condition; who are thus forced to use and accept clipt and counterfeit Money in Payment, when Standard and true Sterling cannot be had. But for the Determining precisely in what Cases, and how far this Passion is excusable, and where it is to blame, and must be rejected and disallow'd; and for the making it manifest, that Honour is not the proper Recommendation of Virtue, I must refer you to those Distin-

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Chap.xxii.

Book III.  
In the Vir-  
tue of Tem-  
perance,  
Ch.XLII.



ctions and Discourses upon it, which will occur hereafter.

Of the Marks of Honour there is great Variety; but the most desirable and charming, are Those, where there are no Mixtures of private Gain and Interest; such as nothing can be drawn out of, nor any Share lie in Common, for the Advantage of a Vicious Man; or of such low and inferior People, as shall pretend to serve the Publick by mean and dishonourable Offices. The less of Advantage they bring with them, the more Valuable they are. And accordingly we find the Ancients infinitely fond of, and with all their Industry and Pains, aspiring after those, which had nothing else to recommend them, but purely their being Marks of Distinction, and Characteristical Notes of Honour and Virtue. Of this Nature in the several Republicks of old, were the Garlands of Laurel and Oaken-Leaves, (and so are the particular "Bearings in Coats of Arms at this Day, added "to the former Charges of the Field, upon some "special Piece of Service) distinct Habits, and Robes; the Prerogative of some Surname, as *Africanus* to *Scipio*, and the like: Precedence and Place in Publick Assemblies, and Orders of Knighthood. It may also fall out, that, when a Man's Deserts are Notorious and Celebrated, it shall be more for his Honour, not to have these Ensigns and Marks, than to have them. And therefore *Cato* said well, that it would make more for the Glory of his Name and Virtues, that People should ask why the City had not erected a Statue to his Memory in the *Forum*, than that they should enquire, why they had done it.

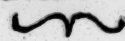
## C H A P. LXI.

*Of Learning.*

**L**earning is, without all Dispute, a noble and beautiful Ornament; an Instrument of exceeding Use, when in the Hands of one that hath the Skill to use it aright. But what Place and Proportion it deserves in our Esteem, is a Matter not so generally agreed upon. And here, as in all Cases of the like Nature, Men fall into Extremes, and are to blame in both; some in overvaluing, and others in disparaging and undervaluing it. Some run it up to that extravagant Height, that they will not allow any other Advantage to come near, or be thought comparable to it; they look upon it as the supreme Happiness; a Ray and Efflux of the Divinity; they hunt after it with Eagerness and insatiable Appetite; with vast Expence, and indefatigable Labour and Pains; and are content to part with Ease, and Health, and every Thing in exchange for it. Others as much diminish and despise it; treat those with Scorn who make it their Business and Profession. And when we have observed this of either Side, I suppose my Reader will make no Difficulty to allow, that a Moderation between both is best, most safe, most just and reasonable. I, for my own Part, were I to execute the Herald's Office in this Dispute, should think that Place is without all question due to Integrity and Prudence, to Health and Wisdom, and Virtue; nay, I should not scruple to give Pre-

*See Book  
III. ch. 4.*

Book I.



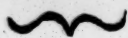
cedence to Skill and Dexterity in Business: But then for Dignity, and noble Descent, and Military Valour, I should think they might go together hand in hand, or leave them to dispute the Priority out among themselves: But if I were press'd, and must deliver my Sense freely and particularly, sure it is equal in Honour to these, or at least the very next after them.

Now, as Sciences differ from each other, according to the Subjects of which they treat, and the Matters they are employed about; and also in the Manner of acquiring, and attaining to a Mastery in them; so do they likewise in the Usefulness, the Reputableness, the Necessity, the Decency, the Fame, and the Gain of them. Some are purely speculative, and aim at nothing farther than merely Contemplation, the entertaining, informing, improving, brightening our intellectual Faculties. Others are practical, and lead us directly on to Action. Some again are real, and conversant in Things; they bring us acquainted with Matters that are without us, either natural or supernatural Objects; others are nominal, they concern Discourse only, teach us Languages, explain Terms of Arts, help us to express our selves properly, and to reason regularly and closely. Now, from this short Account, we may boldly say, That upon a Review of the foregoing Distinctions, those Sciences which are most manly and reputable, most useful, most necessary, and have least of Glory, and Vanity, and sordid mercenary Profit attending them, are infinitely preferable to the rest. By the same Reason then it follows, beyond all Contradiction, that the practical Sciences are of all others



the most excellent; such as propose the Good and Happiness of Man for their End, and direct all their Instructions thither; that teach us to live, and to die well; to command and govern, to submit and obey as becomes us; and therefore these are worthy our most serious Application: Whoever pretends to Wisdom, must lay out his Study and his Time here; and of such, this Book is designed to be a compendious Summary and Abridgment: that is, of Morals, Oeconomicks, and Politicks; the first for governing our selves well, the second for managing our domestick Affairs, and presiding over our Families well; and the third, for discharging our publick Offices well, if we be called to any Part in the Administration of the Government; or if we be private and subordinate only in both the last Capacities, then to consider and make good the Duties incumbent upon any the meanest and most inferior Character. Next to these practical Sciences, the natural are to be regarded and esteemed, which let us into the Knowledge of this System, and Fabrick of the Universe, and the infinite Variety of Creatures contained in it; and that, both for our own Use and Benefit, so far as they can be serviceable to us, and also to excite our Wonder and Praise, and most humble Adoration of his incomprehensible Majesty and Goodness, and Wisdom, and Power, who is the Great Master-Builder, the constant Preserver and Governor of all, and every Part of it. As for all the rest, they are empty and frothy Things in Comparison; and tho' we may call in upon them by the by, and for a little while, yet ought we not to set up our Rest there, nor make them the

Book I.



Business of our Lives; because the Use and Effect of them is of no great Consideration, and they contribute nothing at all towards making us one whit better Men. To what purpose then, is all that Time, and Trouble, and Expence, and how can we think it otherwise than lost, or misemploy'd, which we see studious Men sometimes lay out so liberally upon them? It is true, they may serve to get Money, or to raise something of a Reputation among the People, but it is where Men are ignorant or ill-governed only: For otherwise they will seek and encourage such Studies, as bring solid Comforts and Advantages, and are built upon a firm Bottom.

## C H A P. LXII.

*Of Riches and Poverty.*

**T**Hese are the two Foundations and Beginnings, the Root and Source of all the Troubles and Calamities, the Disorders and Disturbances, that confound, and put the World out of Course: For Excess of Plenty and Riches exalts and puffs up the Possessors, renders them haughty and insolent, swells them with Pride and Disdain, prompts them to Luxury and Extravagance, to Sensuality and all manner of unlawful Pleasures; encourages them to use their Inferiors contemptuously, and to insult over their Wants and their Miseries; makes them bold and daring, and in confidence of their Power, puts them upon seditious and dangerous Attempts. The extreme Poverty of others subdues and dejects their Spirits, poisons them with Envy and restless Jealousy, with Indignation and Spight, Discontent  
and

and Despair; and since Matters, they think, cannot be worse, provokes them to try their Fortunes, and make a desperate Push, in hopes they may be better. *Plato* calls the Poor the *Bane and Plague of a Commonwealth*. So that both these sorts of Men are very dangerous; but whether of the Two is more so, considering People have not agreed. *Aristotle* is of Opinion, that *Abundance* is more formidable to the Publick, than *Want*; for the State hath not much to fear from them who desire no more than a bare Subsistence; but it hath Reason to be jealous of those, whose Wealth makes them Ambitious and Aspiring, and whose Interest and Authority, upon the account of that Wealth, gives them Power and Opportunities to be very troublesome. *Plato* thinks Poverty the worse; for when poor People are grown desperate, they are furious and terrible Creatures; when they are irritated and enraged with want of Bread, and cannot live upon their Work; when Trading is dead, and they are overburden'd with Taxes; then Necessity, (which is a great Mistress, and finds her Scholars very apt) teaches them that, which they would never have ventur'd upon in better and more easy Circumstances; and this makes them bold as Lions: For tho' each of them single can do little or no Hurt, yet their Numbers are always great, and these give them Confidence. But whatever the Disease be, 'tis certain the Remedy is more ready at hand, and the Cure easier, for the Poor than for the Rich; this Mischief is quickly restrained, and may be timely prevented. For so long as they have Necessaries, so long as they can carry on their Trades, and maintain their Families by them, they are generally contented. And



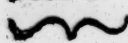


therefore it highly concerns all Governors to preserve and encourage Trade, because in so doing they are sure to keep good Order among the laborious, and hardy, and most necessitous; which to be sure are generally the most numerous part of the Subjects. In the mean while, we may observe this very remarkable Difference between them, that the Rich have the Temptation within themselves, and are formidable upon the account of their own personal Vices, and the Circumstances they are in; but the Poor are not so from themselves, nor their Condition, but if ever they minister just Cause of Fear, it is commonly thro' the Indiscretion or the Cruelty of their Governors, who suffer them to be driven to the last Extremities; and when these pinch hard, and are no longer supportable, they are provoked to play a desperate Game in their own Defence.

- Now several Lawgivers, and eminent Politicians have applied their Minds to contrive proper Methods for the keeping off, and securing the States they formed, or presided over, from the Inconveniences attending each of these Extremities; and such as so vast a Disproportion of Estates and Fortunes will naturally expose the Publick to. They have been therefore desirous to bring all nearer to a Level, to reduce the one, and raise the other; so that there should be a kind of universal Mediocrity, and pretty near an equal Scantling: When things stood upon this Foot, they promised themselves a sure Foundation of Peace and Amity, and good Correspondence, by removing all the Grounds of Contempt on the one hand, and of Envy and Jealousy on the other, quite out of the way. Others have stretched this Project yet further; they are for introducing a common Stock,

Stock, and leaving no peculiar Rights or Properties at all. But this is impracticable, and fantastical, and never can exist long any where, but in Men's own Brains and Imaginations. Nor is that other Design of Equality any more practicable, or indeed at all possible. For tho' Men's Income be alike, yet their Expences and Occasions will be far from being so. These may vary upon a thousand Accidents; but it is enough that every Body is able to see an Instance in one, which is perfectly unanswerable; and that is the Number of Children, which we all know neither do, nor ever can increase in every Family alike. And therefore it must needs be insufficient, and the Design lost, where the Necessities are not, nor ever can be equal. All the Attempts that have been at any time made toward the putting in practice this levelling Principle, have scarce ever been able to set it on Foot: It costs more than the thing is worth to come to it; and if Men could arrive at it, yet it is highly inexpedient, and not at all to their Purpose. The End they aim at is never thus to be compassed; for after all, this is at last but to open another Door, and let the very Mischiefs in the back way, which we take so much Pains to keep out. For if Hatred and Contention be the Evils we are afraid of, where do we find these more frequent and fierce than between Equals? How can we indeed reasonably expect it otherwise, where Men think themselves a Match for one another, where there is no Distance or Respect to Temper, no Fear to curb and bind them to the Peace and their good Behaviour? If Envy and Jealousies arise against Superiors, so do they likewise among Equals; and this latter sort is the Seed of Disturbances and Confusi-

Book I.



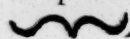
ons, Seditions and Civil Wars. Some Disproportion therefore is absolutely necessary, but such as is moderate, and may keep the Balance even and steady. Order is like Harmony; if all Sounds were the same, there could be no Musick; but yet it is necessary these different Notes should agree in general Cords, and retain some Proportion to make the Composition regular and sweet. But a perfect Level is like a continu'd Unison; and nothing is more flat, \* *nothing is more unequal than an exact Equality.*

5. This so very great Disparity of Estates and Possessions, proceeds from several very different Causes; but more especially from two. The one is unjust Borrowings, and hard Loans; when Men are forced and content to take up Money at any rate, and submit to all the unconscionable Interests that griping Usurers put upon them; by which means those unjust Creditors eat into their Estates, gnaw out their very Heart and Bowels, and by Degrees swallow all, and so grow fat upon the Substance of other People. To such as these may that Complaint of the *Psalmist* not improperly be applied, *They eat up my People as they would eat Bread.* The other is by Disposals of Estates, and that either by Men during their own Life-time, in Alienations, Dowries, and Portioning their Children when they marry, or set up in the World; or else by last Will, and Bequest at the time of their Death. By all which Means, and by the Frugality and good Management of some, and the extravagant Profuseness of others, it comes to pass, that some Men's Fortunes are prodigiously increased, and others sunk and crumbled into nothing. A prodigal Heir makes all fly, and his Posterity continue poor after him:

Psalm. liii. 5.

\* Nihil est æqualitate inæqualius,





A great Fortune marries with a vast Estate; and here one Heap is piled upon another: A rich Heiress carries off the Estate and paternal Seat, incorporates it into another House, and so the Wealth and Name of her own Family is either dreadfully maim'd and enfeebled, or cut off and quite extinct at once. These are plain and obvious Reasons, why some Men gain such mighty Advantages over others; and shew us how some Families are reduced to nothing, and others again flourish as much, and are wonderfully strengthen'd and exalted. Now all these Things should be taken into Consideration, and other Measures taken to regulate and reform the Mischiefs that grow from them. For tho' a perfect Equality be impracticable, yet a convenient Moderation is not: And if all be not even, yet there is no necessity that all should be in Extremes; we may, and it is reasonable we should bring Matters nearer together, and make some tolerable Approaches towards such a Mediocrity as is reasonable. Such an one as is reasonable, I say; for an entire and thorough one is neither reasonable, nor expedient, nor honest. This may be effected in some good Degree by private Persons, in the Management and Disposal of their own Affairs: And it may be advanced higher by the wholesome Constitutions and Counsels of those in a publick Capacity: And both are concerned to have Regard to it. But of this we shall have some Occasion to speak more at large, when the Virtue of *Justice* comes to be treated of.

The E N D of the FIRST BOOK.



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The P R E F A C E.

**H**AVING in the former Book explained and insisted upon the several Methods, by which Man may be let into a competent Knowledge of himself, and the Condition of human Nature; which is the first Part of our Undertaking, and a very proper Introduction to Wisdom: The next thing in order, is to enter upon the Doctrines and Precepts of Wisdom itself. Now that shall be done in this Second Book, by laying down some general Rules and Directions, reserving for the Business of our Third and Last, those that are more particular, and appropriated to special Persons and Circumstances, according to which their Duties vary in proportion to their respective Conditions. It was a very necessary Preamble in the meanwhile, to call Mens Thoughts home, and fix them up-  
on



*on themselves; to exhort and instruct them to handle, probe, and nicely to examine their Nature; that so being thus brought to a tolerable Knowledge and Sense of their Infirmities and Defects, and sadly convinced of the miserable Condition they are by Nature in, they may be put into a better Capacity of having those healing and wholesome Remedies applied, which are necessary, in order to their Recovery and Amendment. And these Remedies are no other than the Instructions and Exhortations proper for the attaining true Wisdom.*

*But alas! It is a prodigious, and a melancholy thing to consider, how stupid and regardless Mankind are of their Happiness and Amendment. What a strange Temper is it for a Man not to be at all solicitous, to have the very Errand and Business he was sent into the World about, well done? Every body is infinitely fond and covetous of living, but scarce any body is concerned, or takes any manner of Thought for living as becomes him. This is the very Art which should be our chief, our only Study; and yet it is that which we are least Masters of, least disposed to learn. Our Inclinations, and Designs, our Studies and Endeavours, are (as Experience daily shews) vastly different, even from our very Cradles, or as soon as we begin to be capable of any. They vary according to the Temper and Constitution of our Bodies, the Company we keep, the Education we are instituted by, the infinite Accidents and Occasions of our Lives; but still none of us casts his Eyes that way, none makes it his Endeavour to manage these to the best Advantage, none attempts heartily to improve in Wisdom; nay, we do not at all lay this most necessary Matter to heart, we scarce allow it so much as a single Thought. Or if*

at any time it comes in our way, accidentally and by the by, we hear and attend to it, just as we would to a Tale that is told, or a Piece of News, that in no degree concerns us. The Discourse perhaps is pleasant and entertaining to some (and but to some neither, for many will not endure nor give it a patient Hearing) but even those who are contented, nay delighted to hear it, yet hear to very little purpose. The Words and Sound tickle their Senses, and that's all they do. For as to the Thing itself, that makes no Impression, gains no Esteem, kindles no Desires, at least in this so universally corrupt and degenerate Age of ours. In order to the being made duly sensible of the true Worth of Wisdom, and how much it deserves from us, there seems to be some particular Turn in our first Frame, some original Aptitude and Air in our Nature and Complexion. If Men must take pains, they will much more willingly employ their Time, and exert their Strength and Parts in the Pursuit of Things, whose Effects are gay and glittering, external and sensible, such as Ambition and Avarice, and Passion, propose to them; but as for Wisdom, whose Fruits are silent and gentle, internal and unseen, it hath no Attractives at all for them. O wretched Men! what false Measures do we take, and how fatally are we deluded? We prefer Winds and Storms for the sake of their Noise, where there is nothing but Air and Emptiness, before Body and solid Substance, which is calm and still; Opinion and Reputation, before Truth and real Merit. Surely Man (as was said in the first Book) is no better than Vanity and Misery, when so averse from, so incapable of Wisdom. Every Man is tainted with the Air which he breathes and dwells in, goes in the beaten Road, and lives like his Neighbours;  
and

*and when this is made a Rule, how can it be expected he should take another Course? We follow the Track, and hunt by the Scent; nay, we urge our own Vices upon other People, we are eager and warm in propagating them; we dissemble our Passions, dress and trick them up, and then put them upon our Companions. None calls after us to stop our Career; we are not to expect it. We are all out of the Way, and likely never to correct our Error, without the special Favour of Heaven, and a great and generous Strength and Firmness of Nature at the same time, discerning enough to observe the common Error in which all are entangled, but scarce any are sensible of it; daring enough to be singular in minding that which no body else minds; and hardy and resolute enough to judge and to live in a Method quite different from the rest of the World.*

*There have been indeed some, though very few such brave Men: I see them still, their Memories and Names are sweet to this Day; and I smell their Ashes like a rich Perfume, with incredible Admiration and Delight. But what hath been the Effect of this uncommon Judgment, and how have they behaved themselves with it? Truly they are for the most Democritus or Heraclitus revived. Some see the Errors and Follies of Mankind, and when they have done, they only make a Jest of them; they divert and entertain themselves and others, by a comical Representation of a very tragical Thing; as if no more were necessary to teach Men Truth and Virtue, than merely to expose Falshood and Vice. They laugh at the World, and the World is but too ridiculous; but while they make themselves merry and good Company, they quite forget to be good-natur'd and charitable. Others are feeble*



ble and poor-spirited, they mince the matter, and dare not speak out; they soften and disguise their Language, mingle and sweeten their Propositions to render them palatable, and make Men swallow them before they are aware, and in a Mass of other things, where they shall not taste, or scarce ever be sensible of them.

They do not speak home, distinctly and fully, but express themselves, like the Oracles of old, in Terms ambiguous, and subject to Evasions. I, for my part, come long after them both in Time and Merit, but I am blunt and downright, and deliver my Sense plainly and clearly. I give an Idea of *Wisdom*, and Instructions for attaining it, such as the *World* perhaps hath not been used to; and I shall not be surprized, if the Newness of my Matter and Method expose this little Tract to the Censures of such Persons, as have neither Temper, nor Ability to judge calmly and maturely of the Matter, but accustom themselves to condemn and run down every thing that does not hit their Humour, or agree with the Notions they have imbibed already. But who can help that, or secure himself from their Censures and Displeasure? Let them take their Course; I question not in the mean while, but the meek and tractable, and honestly disposed, and likewise the Sublime and Celestial Spirits will pass an equitable Construction upon my Writings. These two Extremes are the Seats of *Quiet and Serenity*; the middle Region is the Place where Disorders, and Storms, and Meteors are formed, as was observed before; and therefore those angry Men act in agreement with their Principles, and do nothing but what their Capacity and Condition disposes them to.

Now

Now in order to give a rough and general Draught of *Wisdom*, and particularly of that part, which is the Subject of this present Book; we may divide the Matter of it into four Points, or general Considerations.

The First consists of such things as are Preparatives or proper Predispositions to *Wisdom*; and they are two. 1. First a disintangling the Mind from those Obstructions that prevent, or retard its Improvement; and of these some are external, such as the Errors and Vices of the World, which we derive and suck in from abroad; and other internal, which have their Birth and Beginning from our Selves; of which Nature are our own Appetites from Passions; 2. The other is a full, entire and universal Liberty of the Mind; whereby it thinks and judges freely.

The Second is concerned in laying the Foundations of *Wisdom* firm and durable; and these are also two. 1. True and essential Integrity; and 2. The fixing to our selves some certain End, first, and then chalking out a convenient Rule for our Lives and Actions, by the keeping close to which, we may be conducted to, and arrive at that End.

The Third contributes to the raising this Building upon those Foundations; that is, laying on and finishing the several Functions and Duties of *Wisdom*, which are Six. Three whereof principally regard our selves, and concern every Man considered singly, and as a Man; and these are, 1. Piety. 2. An inward and due Mastery over his Thoughts and Desires; and, 3. a decent Deportment and equal Temper of Mind, in all Accidents, whether of prosperous or adverse Fortune. The other Three regard him as a Member of Society, and extend to others as well as himself; which are, 1. A  
due

*due Observance of Laws and Customs, and Ceremonies; 2. A modest and obliging Conversation with others; and, 3. Prudence in the Management of all kind of Business.*

*The Fourth is made up of the Fruits, and good Effects of Wisdom, which are two. 1. The being constantly fit, and in readiness to die; and, 2. The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit; which is indeed the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, and the very Supreme Good and Happiness, of which human Nature is capable. These taken all together make Twelve Points in the whole, and each being allowed a distinct Consideration by it self, this Book will accordingly contain just so many Chapters.*

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O F

# W I S D O M.

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The S E C O N D B O O K.

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*Containing General Rules and  
Instructions for the Study  
and Attainment of Wis-  
dom.*

---

C H A P. I.

*The first Disposition to Wisdom :*

*Exemption from the Errors and Vices of  
the World, and from one's own Passions.*

**T**HE first Step towards the Knowledge of any thing being a distinct and adequate Idea and Comprehension of the Subject to be treated of, I should, according to this Rule, lay down for the first Rudiment of Wisdom, the

Q q 2

Know-

Book II.

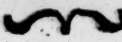
Knowledge of a Man's Self in particular, and of the Condition of human Nature in general. But this, having been the Subject of the entire First Book, I have Reason to hope is sufficiently provided for already. All therefore which I think necessary to repeat upon this Occasion, is, That every Person who makes Wisdom his Aim and End, ought in the first place to be thoroughly well acquainted with Himself, and with Mankind. The true Knowledge whereof is a very important and beneficial Study, of wonderful Efficacy and Advantage. For Man is the Subject proper for the Philosopher's Consideration; none but the Wise understand it, and every Man that does really understand it, is wise. But at the same time it is a Matter of great Intricacy and Difficulty; for Man is extremely addicted to Fallacy and Disguise; so full of it, as to impose very often, not only upon other People, but upon Himself too. Every one takes a Pleasure in cheating himself, is industrious to flatter his own Conscience, solicitous to hide and extenuate his own Failings, and diligent to magnify his few commendable Actions and Qualities; shutting his Eyes, and fearful to see the worst of himself; and therefore, since Sincerity, even at home, is so very little regarded, we cannot reasonably think it strange, that Wisdom is so very rarely to be met with. For how can we expect it should be otherwise, when so very few are perfect, so few indeed give any Attention to the very first Lesson in this Science; and Men are so far from undertaking to instruct others, that they are wretchedly ignorant, and take no Care of informing themselves! How many profess'd Masters, how many



zealous Learners do we see in other Matters, which are foreign and of little or no moment, while every body neglects the Business which most nearly concerns him; and while he is taken up with other Matters abroad, is absolutely in the dark at home! What an Unhappiness! What an exquisite Folly is this! How great a Reproach to the Generality of Mankind!

Now in order to the being competently skill'd in this Point, we should get acquainted with all Sorts of Men, those of the most distant Countries and Climates, the most different Tempers and Ages, Conditions and Professions; (in which History and Travelling are very considerable Helps) we should observe their Motions, their Inclinations, and their several Dealings and Behaviour, not only in Publick, (for these are full of Artifice, and consequently less improving) but their most secret and reserved Actions, the most natural and freest from Constraint, such as may let us into the dark and mysterious Part of human Nature, and discover some of the hidden Springs whereby Men are moved. And particularly great Regard should be had to those Passages wherein Mens Interests or particular Humours come to be nearly touched; because there the Man will be sure to shew himself in his own true Colours.

When these Remarks are made, a Man must draw them together, and form some general Notions and judicious Reflections from them. But particularly one must be very careful to descend into himself, to try and sound his own Breast to the Bottom; that no lurking Deceit escape him there; but eve-

Book II.  ry Thought, and Word, and Action, be justly and nicely weighed.

The Result of such Observations would certainly be a sad, but serious Sense, how miserable and weak, how defective and poor a Creature Man is, on the one hand; and yet how vain and arrogant, how proud and presumptuous, how bloated and big with Air and Wind, what a mere Tumor, a Bladder, a Bubble he is, on the other. The former of these Representations will move our Compassion, the latter will raise our Horror and Indignation. Now the former Book hath done him right in all these Respects, by taking him to pieces, and examining every Part and Feature by itself; viewing him in all the different Lights, and taking every Prospect the Picture was capable of being drawn in. So that I shall trouble my Reader no farther with any Account of this nature at present; but hope he will make a good Proficiency in the Business of this Second Book, by the Assurances given him in the First. And in order to it, we will proceed to warn him of the chief Obstructions in his Way to Wisdom; as they who build, must first clear the Ground, and remove the Rubbish out of the way.

- i. The Man who desires to become wise, must at the very first Entrance into this Design, seriously set about, and stedfastly resolve upon delivering, preserving, and guarding himself effectually from two Evils; which are directly opposite, and irreconcilable Enemies to Wisdom; and such absolute Impediments to our Progress in the Studies of it, that till they be got over, or taken out of the way, no Advances can possibly be made. One of these

is external, consisting of the Vices and the Opinions in common Vogue, which, by the Advantage of being popular, spread and propagate Folly, like a contagious Disease; the other internal, and consists of a Man's own Passions; so that in short, the two great Adversaries we have to fear, and are most concerned to defend our selves against, are the World, and our Selves. And after such an Advertisement, there needs no more be said, to shew how hard this Undertaking is: What Course shall we take to get quit of these two, or how shall we run away from them? Wisdom indeed is difficult and rare; but it is upon this Account chiefly, that it is so: This is the troublesome Part of it; this in a manner the sole Conflict we have to fear; when once this Combat is won, all the rest is easy, and the Day our own. For the first thing that can fit, or put us into any Capacity for Wisdom, must be to get clear of that Evil which obstructs our whole Design, and will not admit Wisdom to dwell with, or grow near it. Now this is the Benefit my Reader is expected to reap from the first Book, which, as I said, may furnish him with sufficient Instructions for the getting thoroughly acquainted with the World and himself: And this Knowledge will possess him with so just a Character of both, as cannot but assist and lead him on to Consideration and Care, and teach him to stand upon his guard, and diligently beware of both. Thus there is a strict and natural Connection between the two Parts of this Treatise; for the Beginning and first Step of the Second Book, is the End and Fruit of the former.



Book II.

2.

Popular  
Error.

Book I.

Ch. lii.

Book I.

Ch. xxxix.

Let us then say somewhat of that Hindrance which is external. Now we have heretofore given a large and lively Description of the Temper of the Common People; the strange and unaccountable Humours of that, which is by much the most numerous Part of Mankind; and it can be no hard Matter to make a Judgment from thence, what monstrous Effects those Humours must in all reason be expected to produce. For since the Vulgar are so bewitched with the Love of Vanity, since they abound with Envy and Malice, since they are so totally void of Justice, and Judgment, and Discretion; since they are perfectly Strangers to Moderation and good Temper; what sort of Deliberations, and Opinions, and Judgments, and Resolutions, can we suppose them taken up with? How indeed is it possible that they should think, or speak, or act, according to Truth and good Sense? We have likewise before, in that Chapter which undertook to represent the Misery of human Nature, given several remarkable, and but too notorious Instances of the Faults and Failings which the Generality of the World are guilty of, both in Point of Judgment and Choice; how miserably their Understandings are darken'd, and their Wills deprav'd; which may very easily convince us, how fixed and deeply rooted they are in Error and Vice. To this purpose are those Sayings common among wise Men, *That the greater Part is always the worse Part of Mankind; there is not one of a Thousand good: That the Number of Fools is infinite; and that there is very great Danger of Infection in the Crowd.*

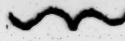
B.

Upon these Accounts their Advice is not only to keep one's self clear and free, and have nothing

at

all to do with such Opinions, and Designs, and Affections, as are popular and in vogue; but, as if all this Restraint were too little, not so much as to venture your Person among the Mob, to decline all manner of Conversation and Familiarity with the Vulgar; since it is impossible ever to approach that diseased Part of Mankind, without some Taint, some pestilential Vapours, such as will certainly bring Danger and Detriment to our own Health. So contagious is the very Breath and Company of the People; so little ought even the wisest, and Persons best establish'd in Virtue and Wisdom, to trust themselves among them. For who indeed is strong enough to sustain the Attack of Vices when they march up in Form of Battel, and charge by whole Troops at once? We see what a world of Mischief one single Example of Avarice or Luxury does; the Conversation of one effeminate Man softens by degrees and enervates the Minds of them that live with him: One rich Neighbour kindles our Desires of Wealth; one lewd Companion strikes as it were his Extravagance and Debauchery into us forcibly, that we may even feel the Impression; it eats like a Canker, and nothing is so solid, so clean, to be free from the Rust of it. And if this be the Case of particular Instances, what do we think must the Condition and the Power be, of those Vices and Dispositions that are become general, and such as all the World run into with full Cry and wild Career?

And yet after all, as necessary as this keeping aloof off from Infection is, the Thing is exceeding difficult, and but seldom put in practice. For to follow the beaten Track is something very plausible,

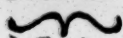
Book II.  sible, and carries a great Appearance of Justice and Goodness, Humility and Condescension in it. The Road is plain and large, and Travellers are easily seduced into it. Singularity is a By-Path, and none but fanciful or conceited Men are thought to take it. We go on after our Leaders, like Beasts in a Herd: The Reasonableness, and Worth, and Justice of a thing is rarely examined, but Example and Custom are the moving Arguments; and thus we hurry on, and stumble at the same Stones, and fall upon one another in Heaps; we press and push forward, and draw whole Multitudes upon the same Precipice; and there we fall and perish, merely upon the Credit of those that go before us. Now the Man that would be wise indeed, must take quite contrary Measures. He must receive nothing upon Content and Example only; but be very jealous and considerate, and suspect every thing which he finds the Generality of Mankind agreed in, and fond of; and instead of counting Numbers and practising by the Poll, he must weigh the Goodness of the Thing; not suffering himself to be deluded with fair Appearances, with general Approbations, or common Use, or doing as the rest of the World do; but nicely examine the real intrinsic Worth of Things and Actions, and resolve to stand alone, where this will not justify his Compliance. *Thou shalt not follow a Multitude to do Evil*, is a just, a prudent, a necessary Precept: And a most vicious and mistaken Modesty that is, which prevails with us to disobey it. When therefore any one would cut us short, and thinks to knock all our Arguments on the head, by saying, *All the World is of this Opinion, or all the World does*



does thus, a considerate Man will answer to himself at least, *I like it so much the worse for that; this is but a very scurvy Caution, for their Approbation makes me suspect it the more.* Thus the wise Phocion, when he saw the whole Auditory highly applaud something he had spoken, turn'd about and asked his Friends that stood by, What was the matter; whether he had let fall somewhat which ought not to have been said, or been guilty of some egregious Impertinency, that all the People were so mightily pleased with him. The wisest Method then, is to decline, as much as possibly we can, any Familiarity or frequent Conversation with the People, who are generally foolish, ignorant, and a very odd Medley of Men: But if our Affairs will not permit that, yet at least it must be our constant Care, to avoid their received Opinions, not to be born down with their Judgments, nor conform ourselves to their Temper and Complexion, nor be corrupted by their vicious Dispositions and Practices: But at the same time we live in the World, we must not be of the World. And this indeed is the Reason why Solitude is so much and so earnestly recommended by Philosophers and wise Men; a Solitude, that consists in setting the Soul free, and discarding all popular Opinions, and reigning Vices; delivering the Mind from the Bondage and Confusion, which Custom, and Example, and the common Cry subject it to; that so it may have Leisure to retire into itself, and take its full Range without Interruption or Restraint.

The other Inconvenience, and fatal Obstruction of Wisdom, is internal; and as such threatens more imminent Danger, and requires a greater Portion

5.  
Second  
Thing, Ex-  
emption  
from Pas-  
sions.



tion of our Care. And this is that Slavery and Perplexity which our own Passions and disorderly Affections put us into. And against these there ought to be a strict and strong Guard, to prevent their Tumults and Insurrections; or rather indeed we ought, if that were possible, to dispossess them quite, that so our Mind might be clean and open, and unfullied, like a blank Paper, ready to receive any Inscription, any Tincture of Wisdom, against which the Passions are formal and declared Enemies, by the Stains and Prejudices they leave upon it. This gave occasion for that Saying of some wise Heathens, That it was not possible, even for *Jupiter* himself to be in love, or to be angry, or affected strongly with any other Passion, and yet to be wise at the same time. And accordingly, both Reason and Revelation in the Ideas they teach us to form of God, represent him void of all Passions, Body, or bodily Affections, as Infirmities by no means consistent with the Excellencies of an absolutely good and perfect Being. Wisdom is a regular Conduct of the Soul; it proceeds in number, and weight, and measure; it is an Evenness and Smoothness, a sweet and pleasing Harmony of our Judgments and Wills, and well-proportioned Dispositions; a constant Health and Soundness of the Mind; whereas the Passions, quite contrary, are the Ague-fits of a distempered Soul, the Boundings and Reboundings of Folly; the wild Skips, and wanton Sallies, and impetuous Emotions, and rash unguided Flights of the Man, without any Aim, or Order, or Measure.

6.  
General  
Remedies  
against  
them.

The Colours, in which the former Book painted our Passions, are so black and hideous, that they cannot

cannot but shew us their Deformity, and may create in us a just Horror and Detestation of them. The Remedies and Means for subduing each of these in particular, will come in more properly in the Third Book, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. But of those which are general, and our present Business, there are several, and of different kinds, some good, and some evil. I do not here reckon that Happiness of Constitution and natural Blessedness, which renders the Man so well tempered, as to preserve him calm and serene; not subject to any strong Passions, or violent Emotions of Soul; and keeps him in a constant, smooth, even, uniform Composure of Spirit, hardened and impenetrable, and proof against all Attacks. This indeed is an uncommon Excellency, but it is not so properly a Remedy against Evil, as an Exemption from it: it is not a Medicine or an Instrument of Recovery, but it is an effectual Prevention of Sickness, and the State of Health itself. [This therefore falls not within the Compass of our Subject and Design in this place, which is to prescribe Remedies truly so called; and of them I shall propose Four to the Reader's Observation.

The First, which in truth is not at all advisable, nor hath any real Goodness to recommend it, is a sort of Stupidity or Insensibility of Mind, which does not feel, nor apprehend at all. A brutish Apathy, incident to mean Souls, such as are either perfectly seared and dead, or have their Apprehensions in great measure blunted and dulled; a sort of Callousness and Crust upon the sensitive Parts; a spiritual Lethargy, and constant Heaviness, which tho' it hath some Air of Health  
and

7.  
*Stupidity.*



and Ease, yet what we think is so, is in Effect its Disease. For there can be no such thing as Wisdom and Constancy, where there is no Knowledge, no Sense, no Activity at all. And therefore this does not cure the Distemper, but only render the Patient insensible of his Illness. But yet this, as bad as it is, is better, and much rather to be chosen, than the knowing, and feeling, and suffering one's self to be vanquished and preyed upon by the painful Impression: What *Horace* says of his Writings, is thus applicable to the Affections and Follies of Mankind:

\*—— *I had rather be a little Wit,  
So my dull Verse my own dear Self delight,  
Than know my Faults, be vex'd, and die with Spight.*

CREECH.

8.  
*A Counter-  
Passion.*

The Second Remedy is very little or nothing better than the Disease itself, and yet it is more used, and oftner applied, than any other. This is, when a Man vanquishes one Passion, and stifles it by the more prevailing Force of another. For the Passions are never equally poized, but one or other of them will always cast the Scales. Now we are frequently guilty of a great Error, in attributing things to Virtue and Wisdom, in which they never had the least Hand or Concern, but they are purely the Effects of Passion. And it happens very well for Persons under these Circum-

\* *Prætulerim Scriptor delirus inersque videri,  
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,  
Quam sapere & ringi.* H O R. Epist. ii. Lib. II.

stances,

stances, when those which rise highest, and have got the Dominion in their Souls, are not of the worst sort of Passions.

Chap. 1.

The Third, which is indeed a good Remedy, though not the very best, is a Matter of Prudence and Artifice, by which a Man steals out of the way, runs, hides himself, and keeps at a Distance from the Occasions and Accidents, which he knows, or hath found by Experience, apt to provoke and put him out of Temper; such as wake the sleeping Lion, and give Fire to his Passions. This is a Study, and a Knack Men have of putting themselves upon a Posture of Defence; or rather of keeping good Out-guards; upon the alarming whereof they may have Leisure to retreat, or so to secure the Passes and Avenues, that the Approach of Evils may be intercepted and prevented. Of this Kind is that common Story of a Prince, who immediately broke a rich Cup that was presented to him, for fear it should provoke his Anger, if by Chance or Negligence it should happen to be broken by another Hand. The proper and constant Prayer of these Men is, *Lead us not into Temptation*. Thus it is, that Men resolve against Gaming, who feel themselves unable to command their Temper, and cannot play without Passion. And thus Men of nice Honour, and prone to Anger, decline Disputes in Company, and crush the very first Motions to Strife in the Birth. For when a Man is once engaged, it is difficult to make a good Retreat; and the After-game of Wisdom and Discretion is very hard and hazardous to play. In the Beginning we manage things as we please, and have them at our Mercy; but when once the Fire is kindled,

9.

Prevention.

Book II.

kindled, and we are grown warm, they manage and carry us how and whither they will. It is certainly much easier wholly to decline a Passion, than to keep it within just Bounds and Measures; and that which few can moderate, almost any body may prevent. And the Reason is plainly this; because all things in their infancy and at first, are small and feeble, flexible and tender. But the Misfortune is, that while they are weak we are not sensible of the Danger; and when they are grown stubborn and strong, we are not capable of a Remedy. This any Man may observe in common Conversation. How many Instances could every one of my Readers recollect of Persons, who upon every slight Occasion fall into Quarrels, commence Law-suits, engage in Disputes and Controversies, and are at last forced to give out with Disgrace; come to shameful and dishonourable Accommodations; take Sanctuary in mean and equivocating Interpretations; belye and contradict themselves; betray their Want of Honesty; go against their own Sense; palliate, and disguise, and colour over Matters of Fact; which are all of them miserable Refuges, and Remedies ten thousand times worse than the Disease they would cure? In all these Cases, it were much better not to begin at all, than to bring Matters to such a Conclusion. For, for want of timely Prudence and good Conduct, they fall into Want of Integrity and good Sense. And so in all their Proceedings they run directly counter to that wise Advice of *Bias*, which is to set out and undertake things coolly and considerately; but, when we are well satisfied of the Justice and Reasonableness of our Enter-



Enterprize, then to prosecute it warmly and vigorously. It is in this manner, that those foolish Men expose themselves, who out of a vicious Easiness and Complaisance, are ashamed to deny any Request made to them; but after this mighty Liberality in promising, are every whit as apt and easy to break their Word again, and prostitute that Honour vilely, which was engaged with so much Levity. And therefore in all our Affairs, in all our Dealings and Conversation with Men, nothing is more requisite, than to look before us, to make true Steps at first, and be well advised, before we begin.

Chap. 1.

10.  
*Virtue.*

The Fourth, and infinitely the best Remedy of all, is a staunch and vigorous Virtue; a Resolution and Firmness of Mind, by which a Man is qualified to look any Accidents in the Face; to meet and come up close to them, without Starting or Disorder, or Confusion; to enter into the Lists, and encounter them gallantly. This is a brave, a noble, a glorious Impossibility indeed; which sets the Mind above Trouble, directly contrary to the first of these Remedies, which consisted in an impenetrable Temper, a heavy, sottish, senseless Stupidity. And there is nothing will contribute more to the working us up into this generous Gallantry of Spirit, than the furnishing and forming our Judgments with good Instructions, digesting them thoroughly, and applying them seasonably; but especially the fortifying ourselves with Thought and Deliberation, that so we never fall under the Terrors of Surprise; but be prepared to defend our Post, whenever they attack us. For Reasoning and Discourse masters the Passions, and Pre-

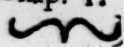
Book II.

meditation is the thing which hardens the Soul, and renders it proof against all the Evils that would soften and subdue it. And one great Help towards the preserving us impregnable, will be a serious Reflection upon what hath already been delivered in the foregoing Parts of this Book; for the proper Method of calming and sweetning the Passions, is to get well acquainted with the Nature of them; to examine them nicely, and know exactly, what Influence they have upon us, and what Command we have over them. But especially we should guard ourselves against too easy a Credulity, and not suffer any rash Surmise or Opinion, to foment or inflame our Passions; for Falshood, and Folly, and Uncertainty, transport Fools only; a wise Man will weigh things calmly, and coolly, and suffer himself to be carried no farther than mature Judgment, and measured Truth lead him: For Reason is his only Guide, and every Impression is brought to this Standard, and strictly examined by it. But of this, besides the Light given us already, we shall be more fully and particularly qualified to make a Judgment, both from what follows in this Second, and from the Instructions to be added in the Third, when we come to enlarge there upon the Virtues of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*.

11. But above all other Passions, that of Self-Love, and Presumption, and inordinate Fondness of our own Imaginations, Opinions, and Actions, requires a strict and watchful Eye, and the strongest Guard we can possibly set over it. For this is the very Pest of Mankind; the most mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to Wisdom; the very Corruption and Gangrene of the Soul; by which it mortifies  
and

and grows absolutely incurable. This swells us with vain Conceits, and false Satisfactions and Confidences; we make undue Estimates of ourselves, and are marvellously pleased with our own supposed Sufficiency; nay we perfectly idolize, fall down and worship ourselves, and neither believe, nor hear any body but ourselves. Now indeed we can never be in worse Hands than our own, and that Prayer of the *Spaniards* is a very significant and sensible one, *O God preserve me from my self*. Such Presumption and foolish Self-Love proceeds from Mistake; and Ignorance is not so truly the Mother of any Devotion as of this. Were Men but duly sensible, how weak and wretched, how impotent and little, how full of Infirmities and Errors, Human Nature is in general; and were each Man duly so of his own personal Defects and Frailties in particular, that Divine Counsel of *not being wise in our own Conceits*, would be much better obey'd: And obeyed it is necessary it should be; for till we are free of this Vanity, we can never arrive at true and sound Wisdom. It stops our Ears against all Advice and Instruction, and suffers us not to see our own Wants, nor the Abilities of others to direct and improve us. Honesty and Integrity, Modesty and Diligence, a meek and teachable Temper, a serious, and hearty, and humble acknowledgment of our Deficiency; These are not only the first and surest Steps to Virtue, but the greatest Evidence of a solid Judgment, a clear Understanding, a rightly-disposed Will, and unbiaſſed Affections; and consequently, a most hopeful and promising, as well as it is an indispensably requisite

Chap. 1.



Rom. xii.  
16.



Book II. Preparation, to the Study and Attainment of  
 ~~~~~ Wisdom and Goodness.

C H A P. II.

*An entire Liberty of the Mind ; The
 Second Pre-Disposition, requisite in
 order to Wisdom.*

- I. **T**HE other Disposition to Wisdom, which is in Truth a natural Consequence and Improvement of the former, is, (after we have delivered ourselves from the Bondage and Captivity of popular Opinions from without, and our own Passions from within) to attain to a full, entire and generous Liberty of Mind; and this of two sorts, according to the two great Faculties concerned in the Pursuit of Wisdom, implying, first, a Liberty of Judgment, and then a Liberty of the Will.

The former of these, which regards the Judgment, consists in considering, judging, and examining all things; yet not tying ones self up to any, but remaining still free, and at ones own Disposal; of a large universal Spirit, open and ready to hear any thing that shall be offered. This is the highest Pitch of Soul, the most peculiar and distinguishing Privilege of a truly great and wise Man; but such a one I confess it is, as all People are not capable of understanding, and much less still of attaining to it. Upon which Account I think my self
 obliged

obliged to establish this Point, against the Objections of those vulgar Souls, which are not of Capacity large enough for true Wisdom.

And first of all, to prevent all Mistakes and unreasonable Cavils upon Words, I will explain the Terms made use of here, and give the true Meaning of them. Now this Description consists of three Things, which mutually produce and support one another. And these are, *Judging every thing, being wedded or tied up to nothing, and preserving a Largeness of Soul, and being ready to hearken to any thing that shall be offered.*

By *Judging* in the first of these Particulars, it is plain I cannot mean Resolving, Determining, or positively Affirming; because this would imply a direct Contradiction to the second Branch of the Description. And therefore no more can possibly be understood by it, than Examining and Weighing all Matters that come before us; putting the Arguments for either Side of the Question into the Balance, to see which Scale preponderates, and where the Merits of the Cause lie; that by this means the Truth may, after long and diligent Disquisition, at last be clearly made out.

Then again, *By not espousing, or being bound up to any thing*, I do not intend stopping short of the Truth, affecting Uncertainty, and floating in the Air; sometimes talking and acting one way, and sometimes the direct contrary; and so never proceeding or resolving any thing after such Deliberations as are requisite for a Man of Constancy and Prudence, not venturing to act, because he cannot be positive that his Judgment is right: For I would have my Philosopher conform to the Customs of

Book II.

the World, and in all the external and common Passages of human Life act like other Men. The Rules prescribed here have nothing at all to do with any Man's Commerce or outward Behaviour; their Business is only to regulate the Mind, and to set the Thoughts and Judgment right within. Nay, and even in this inward Regulation too, I am content that Men should readily assent to probable Evidence; that they should stick to that Side where they find the greatest Appearance of Honesty and Justice, of Convenience and Advantage. But still that this should be done with some sort of Modesty and Reserve, avoiding all Positiveness and Stiffness, all indecent Censures and contemptuous Usage of those who think otherwise; treating the contrary Opinions, be they never so distant, be they new or old, with Candor and Caution; disdaining nothing that can be offered, but ready and content to hear the Arguments of those that oppose us. Nay, not only content but desirous that they should oppose us, and alledge whatever they have to say against our Notions; because this will put us upon a more accurate Exercise of the first of these Qualifications, and oblige us to consider and weigh Things more cautiously.

Now these three Qualities I affirm to preserve and mutually to support each other; for he that examines Things carefully and without Passion, will find somewhat of Reason and Probability on every Side; so much at least as will preserve him, not only from Rashness and Precipitation, but from Peremptoriness and Obstinacy; and this puts the Mind in that State of Ingenuity and Indifference, which I mean by Openness and Universality of Soul.

Soul. Whereas on the contrary, the Man who fixes absolutely, hath cut himself out from farther Examination, he is fastened down to the Notions already entertain'd by him; and makes himself of a Party, resolv'd to maintain his Opinion, in despite of all Sense and Reason to the contrary.

Simple, and credulous, and foolish Men are defective in the first of these Qualifications; Opiniators and dogmatical Arguers are faulty in the second Point; and both the one and the other Sort, when they turn factious and espouse a Party, offend against the third. But a Philosopher indeed, whose only Aim is Truth, and whose Pursuits of it are regular and discreet, is wise, and modest, and moderate, and so an exact Observer of all these Rules.

It is farther necessary, for the giving a true State of the Matter I am now upon, to add, that by the *All things* to be nicely examined, and the *No one thing* to be resolutely espoused, I mean such Objects only, as are merely human, and Matters proper for a Philosophical Enquiry. So that this Direction must by no means be thought to concern Revealed and Divine Truths. For these we are obliged, not in Duty only, but in the strictest Reason too, to receive with an entire Submission and most profound Humility. These are not Matters for Discussion and Controversy; we have nothing to do here, but to bow down the Head and worship, to restrain the Insolence of Reason, when it would saucily pry into the Ark, to check and captivate our Minds, and resign our Understandings to the Obedience of Faith. But these religious and sacred Objects excepted, none of the rest need

Book II. disdain to come within those Conditions, and ought
 not to be receiv'd upon easier Terms.

This short Explanation of the Terms might perhaps suffice for Men of Equity and good Sense, and save me the Trouble of any farther Enlargement; but because I see plainly that there are a Party of Men in the World, of a positive, fierce, and domineering Spirit, who are for leading all Mankind after them in a very magisterial Manner; and, having first inviolably engaged in some particular Principles and Opinions themselves, take the Confidence to expect that every body else should come in upon their Authority; and for that Reason will not endure any thing that looks like asserting Liberty of thinking: In Opposition to these stiff, assuming Gentlemen, and to prevent, or at least to defeat their Outcries upon this Occasion, I think my self under some Necessity to prove and confirm what hath been here advanced; and will therefore consider each Branch of this Proposition distinctly, as the Parts lie before us.

2. The First of these is *Judging every thing*; which is the peculiar Character of the wisest and most exalted Understandings, the proper Office of a Man, the most natural, most becoming Employment of a rational Soul. To what purpose, I would fain know, were those noble Faculties of Discourse given us? why have we that penetrating Wit, that discerning and acute Spirit? Is it to build Castles in the Air with, and feed our selves with extravagant Fancies, or to lavish it away upon useless Vanities and Trifles, as the greatest Part of Mankind do? Eyes certainly were made to take Advantage of the Light; and these Powers to exert themselves in that judicial

cial Authority, which this Superintendant of this Chap. 2.
lower World hath over the Works of Nature and
Providence. To entrench upon this Prerogative,
were to maim his very Effence, to unman, and to
degrade him into Beast. And to exercise this Right
is the Property of a Man, and to do it in an eminent
and uncommon Manner, is the very Mark and Di-
stinction of a wise Man. If then the Neglect of
this Power be so great a Violation of the Nature
and Privileges of Mankind in general, the giving
up an original Right, which ought not by any
means to be parted with; how much more inex-
cusable is it in a wise Man, who is so much better
qualified for it, and hath stronger Pretensions to
that Authority, than those of meaner Abilities can
have? It is therefore, in my Apprehension, a most
amazing Thing, that so many Persons, even among
those who either have, or at least set up for Learn-
ing and good Sense, should of their own accord
give up so just a Right, and tamely submit to what
comes next, nay, approve whatsoever hath the least
Colour of a Probability; or perhaps nothing but
Custom and common Credit to keep it in Counte-
nance; without ever going about to call the Cause,
and examine whether there be any Merits in it or
no. Nay, not only to submit, but to think them-
selves bound to do so, and that they are not at li-
berty to satisfy their own Reason. What a hor-
rible Indignity, what a Degradation of human Na-
ture is this? In other Cases we find them bold and
assuming, extremely jealous of their Honour, and
tenacious of their Privileges; but here they are de-
spicably tame, and poor-spirited, which is the just-
est,

est, the most indisputable, the most inherent Property of any that belongs to them.

'Tis certain, that there can be but one Truth, but Falshood is infinite : A Thousand differing Judgments upon the same Thing, and but one of all these in the right : And shall I in the midst of all this Doubt and Confusion, be forbidden to use the Means God hath put into my Hands, for the finding out which that is? Shall it be thought taking more upon me than becomes me, if I endeavour to discover the best Appearance of Truth, or Equity, or Profit, or Convenience, for a Rule and Measure to my own Actions? Is it possible to suppose, that among the many disagreeing, nay opposite Laws and Customs of the World, none but ours should be good for any thing? Are all Mankind out of their Senses, and hath every other Nation taken wrong Measures? Who can have the Confidence to assert this? Or who makes any Question, but other Countries are even with us, and think every whit as meanly of our Constitutions as we do of theirs? Nay, there is no Dispute, but this very Person, whoever he be, that is so blindly fond of his native Manners, would have had the same partial Liking for those of any other Place, where it had been his Fortune to have been born and bred; he would have been as warm in preferring those above such as he now thinks best, for no other Reason 'tis plain, but because he hath been used to them.

If any Man shall venture to assert the contrary, I must beg leave at least to answer him, that this Liberty of Judging is a good Rule however for all Foreigners to make use of; that so they by the Practice

Practice of it may convince themselves, how much our Methods of Living excel theirs. This he must grant me sure; and if he do, it will follow, that a wise Man will think it advisable to do this upon all Occasions, and pass Sentence upon nothing till he have allow'd it a fair Hearing, and weigh'd the Matter impartially. To be led thus like Oxen, and follow the Herd, is fit for none but Brutes or Men but one Remove above them. I would by all means have a Man behave and express himself, and make his Figure in Compliance with the rest of the World; but I would not have him conform his Judgment to theirs, nay I would have him even sit in Judgment upon theirs. What Privilege do you leave the greatest Philosopher above the most ignorant Clown, if the noblest Part of him, his Mind, shall be enslaved to common Vogue? Methinks the World should be very well satisfied with a Man's Compliance in outward Behaviour: But all within is *my own*, and what hath the World to do with my Thoughts? They shall give Rules if they please to my Tongue and my Hand, but my Mind, by their good Leave, is out of their Jurisdiction, and is accountable to another Master. *The Liberty of the Mind* is what no body can actually take away, and if any attempt it, they are of all Tyrants and Usurpers the most unreasonable, the most insupportable. Every wise Man will be sure to be tender of it, and offend in neither Extreme, for he will neither endure to part with his own Freedom, nor offer to invade any other Man's.

Now I own, that while a wise Man asserts this Liberty to himself, it cannot be expected that he should be always of a piece: For at this rate, his
Hand

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Hand and his Opinion, his Body and his Mind will be frequently put upon Contradictions to one another; and there is no avoiding it; because Prudence governs his outward Actions, and private Judgment the Sentiments of his Soul. So that here are two different Characters to be maintained, and he must play both, or be unjust either to the World, or to himself. The common Remark, that all Mankind act a part upon this Stage of the World, is as strictly true of the wisest Men, as of any others whatsoever; for they are quite other sort of Persons within than they appear to the Spectators; and if they should not play thus, but shew themselves without any manner of Disguise, the Difference would never be endured, all their Behaviour would be so particular: And yet at the same time, were their real Opinions in Agreement with their Practice, this would involve them in so many Errors and Corruptions, that they would not be able to endure themselves. Many Compliances must be indulged out of Respect to the Opinion of the World, and the Laws and Customs which prevail Abroad; and particularly in the Places where we dwell: But then a Man owes it to himself too, not to make these the Standard of his Opinions, but form them upon the Dictates of Nature, and the Rules of Universal Equity and Reason. And he who does thus, must content himself with many things which he does not strictly approve; and while he lives among Men, must act as they do, but with this Reserve to himself, that these things are not done by him in the Quality of a wise Man, but merely under the general Character of a Man, and a Member of Society.

Thus

Thus he in his Actions, will be like *Cicero* in his Expressions; who declared, He referred the Usage of Words to the People, but the proper Meaning of them he reserved the Right of judging in to himself.

To instance now in a few particulars; and those some of them very frivolous, and of little or no Consequence. I make no Scruple to pull off my Hat in Civility and Deference to a Man of Quality, because this Part of the World express their Respect that way; but at the same time I am free to think the *Eastern* Custom better, who express their Reverence by laying their Hand upon their Breast; and never hazard their Health, nor expose themselves to any of the other Inconveniencies incident to frequent Uncovering of the Head. So again, were I an Inhabitant of the *Oriental* Parts of the World, I would eat my Meals upon the Ground, or leaning, or lying along, as they do, and as great part of the World did heretofore, particularly the *Jews*, as we find by the Description of our Lord's last Supper; but still I could not forbear in my own private Judgment, preferring the sitting upright at Table, as our present Manner is, for the much more commodious way of Eating. Again, to mention a Matter of somewhat greater Importance; I am satisfied that the dead Bodies of my Friends should be interred, and given as a Prey to the Worms; but still I cannot but think the old way of burning, and preserving their Ashes in Urns, much more cleanly and more noble; that Fire is more respectful than Putrefaction and Stench; an Element, which even Religion hath given some Countenance to, by
com-

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commanding the Remainders of the Paschal-Lamb heretofore to be burnt: But what can we do worse, than to cast our Friends to rot in the Ground, and be eaten by the Vermine and Insects? an Indignity, which to me seems fit to be offered only to those scandalous Wretches, who die by the Hands of common Executioners, but the Remains of Persons of Honour and Virtue, (in my poor Apprehension) should be otherwise treated. For of the five several Ways by which dead Bodies are capable of being disposed of, the committing them to the Mercy of the four several Elements, or suffering them to be devoured by Beasts; that of Burning seems to me much the most eligible.

Once more. I am well enough pleased to have the wise Man of my forming look out of Countenance, and take Care to decline and conceal every thing that passes for immodest in the Esteem of the World; and must have a very ill Opinion of him should he do otherwise: But then I desire he should be satisfied, that this is due from him in regard to the Customs and common Sentiments of other People, not to any Shame in the Nature of the things themselves. For Nature, that is, the God of Nature, never made any thing which was reproachful, and these Ignominies are purely accidental; the Product of Sin, which is the greatest Enemy and Corrupter of Nature. Even Religion itself, which is much more chaste and reserved than Philosophy, assures us, that while Man continued in his original Innocence and Perfection, there was no such thing as Shame; but that and Guilt entred the World at once.

I comply with the Mode of my own Country, in point of Cloaths and Dress,; and so I would have gone naked too, if my Lot had cast me in a Country where it was usual to do so. But to me both these Fashions appear so inconvenient, that were I left to my own Choice entirely, I should do neither. The Manner of those Nations, which use some one slight Garment, plain and light, without Constraint or Ceremony, or great Expence, is much the best in my Apprehension. For the Multitude of Cloaths, and the different Sorts of them, but especially the Vanity and abominable Extravagance the World is guilty of in them, is a thousand times worse than going naked. These Instances I content my self with the Mention of at present; my Reader may apply them to himself at pleasure, upon occasion of the infinite Variety of Laws and Customs, and Modes, and Matters of Fact; and the as great Variety in Opinions too, and Contests in Matters of Right, and what is fit to be done, as well as what is actually done.

If any shall suppose me in the wrong, as to the foregoing Instances, or object against this Liberty in general, as an Indulgence of dangerous Consequence; that by this Means Mens Minds will never settle, but they will be eternally lost in a Wood, and fill their Heads with idle and fantastical Notions: I answer, as to the former part, which relates more immediately to my self, that it is very possible I may lie under a Mistake in some or all of those Cases; but then it argues great Confidence thus to charge any Man with being in the wrong; for such a one does in effect assume to himself the

Know-

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Knowledge of exact Truth, and seems to say, that he is Master of it, tho' others be not. Nor should I much be mortified tho' the Charge were true: For the not hitting upon the right, is no certain Argument that a Man judges amiss. For this consists in not giving the Arguments their due Weight, not confronting them fairly, nor holding the Scales even; not measuring by the Level and Standard of universal Reason, and Nature in her primitive Perfection. Now a Man may discharge the examining Part very faithfully and diligently, and yet he may not attain to the Truth notwithstanding. But, to deal plainly, I give no Credit to any thing till it be proved to me. If the Objector brings me stronger and more weighty Reasons against my Opinion, than I have to urge in Defence of it, I bid him heartily welcome; and shall thank him for the Opportunity which his Contradiction gives me, to exercise this judicial Authority with so much greater Accuracy. I only take up with my present Thoughts, till better Information give me Cause to change them; and therefore they are only upon good Liking; ready to be dismissed, when more rational ones may succeed in their Stead.

But as to the more general Part of the Objection, which regards the dangerous Consequences and pernicious Effects of such a Liberty, besides what hath been urged already, and will be more at large hereafter, (that the Rule by which our Judgments are to be directed, is Nature and universal Reason, which so long as we keep close to, we are secure from Error:) the Second Branch of this judicious Liberty, will provide us with Remedies

medies against this supposed Mischief; and that is what I shall now apply my self to treat of particularly and fully.

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5.

The other Branch then of this absolute Liberty of Soul, consists in a sort of Indifference, and a suspending one's Judgment and final Resolution. By this the wise Man preserves his Temper; his Affections are not engaged, and so he can consider every thing without Heat or Passion: He is not at all provoked by Opposition, not staked down to any one Notion; but keeps an Ear always open for the contrary Party, and is ready to receive either the Truth, or that which seems to make a nearer Approach, and carry greater Resemblance to it, than the Ideas he hath entertained already. When he seems most determined, his secret Sense goes no farther, than *This is my present Opinion;* and *I have Reason to embrace it above any other;* but still he can hear it contradicted without any Disorder, and satisfy himself to know all that can be said against it; and if what is offered preponderates, he makes no Scruple to change his Mind; and constantly, even of that Opinion which stuck last by him, he goes no farther in vindication than that possibly there may be some other better grounded, but this is the best he hath met with. Now this Suspension and Indifference I speak of, is built upon several famous Maxims entertained and propagated by the greatest Philosophers, and likewise upon the Freedom they used in their Writings and Behaviour. For this Quality must be confessed to have been the concurrent Practice, and avow'd Principle of wise Men in all Ages; the most, and most conspicuous among them have made no Scruple

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*W*ple openly to confess their Ignorance and Doubts; saying, *That all Nature was full of Difficulties and Dilemmas; That nothing was more certain than Uncertainty; that there was scarce any thing so plain, but an Ingenious Man might bring plausible and almost equal Arguments for either side of the Question; and a thousand other such Sayings; by which they remarkably argued a Distrust of their own Judgments. The rest of them, tho' upon some Occasions they have proceeded somewhat dogmatically, and delivered their Minds boldly and positively; yet seem rather to have dissembled their Doubts, than not to have had any; and to put the best Face they could upon the Matter, that the World might see how far their Wit would carry them, in the Search of Truth; a Thing * which learned Men seem rather to have formed an Idea of to themselves, than to have known her as she is.* For after all their Boasts of attaining her, their Courage fails them at last, and the Things uttered by them, they dare not venture to bestow any more honourable Titles upon, than that of Probabilities and Appearances of Truth; and while they represent them variously, sometimes in one Prospect and Form, and sometimes in another; by Questions, and Problems, and ambiguous Disputes; as if their Design was rather to enquire, than to teach; and that they sought Information themselves, while they pretend to give it to others; from all this I say, and the whole Current of their Stile, we may reasonably gather, that they wrote and spoke, not so much with a Design to establish a Notion, or render it

* *Quam Deſti fingunt, magis quam nôrunt.*

unquestionable, as for Diversion, and to exercise their Wits, as one says; we cannot be sure what their Opinions were, or that they really believed their own Writings; for indeed † *they seem not to have designed we should gather their Sense of Things, so much as that we should observe and admire their Parts and Skill, by those Tryals, which the Nicety and Difficulty of their Subject put them upon.* And who can ever persuade himself, that *Plato* intended his Republick and fanciful Ideas should ever pass for current Doctrine; or that *Pythagoras* in advancing his Numbers, and *Epicurus* his Atoms, spoke their own real Opinions, and such as they thought were weighed and measured Truths? They pleased and entertained their own Minds with these nice Speculations, but * *the Notions were owing more to the Fruitfulness of their own Inventions, than to any Strength of Proof, or Force of Knowledge.* And indeed they may seem sometimes to have gone out of the common Road on purpose, and with great Industry to have sought somewhat of Difficulty, the better to amuse the World, by thus concealing the Vanity of the Subjects they were upon, and to furnish Matter for the gratifying their Reader's Curiosity. How wretchedly is *Aristotle*, the very Idol of these Dogmatists, confounded and at a loss? How inconsistent with himself, and forced sometimes to confess the Impotence of Human Nature, and how short the most inquisitive come of the Truth?

† Non tam id sensisse quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materiae difficultate voluisse videntur.

* Quæ ex ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiæ vi.

Book II.

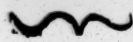
6.

Those that afterwards signaliz'd themselves by a more positive and magisterial Way of Writing, and from thence got the Title of Dogmatists, were Men of a pedantick and presumptuous Temper. They, it is true, condemn and detest this Rule of Wisdom, and were fonder of a hot-headed peremptory Fellow, though contrary to their own Party and Judgment, than of a peaceable, sedate, and modest Man, who contents himself with Doubting, and declines the pronouncing any thing definitively; that is, in plain *English*, they esteem a rash Fool more than a cautious wise Man. (Like Women, who take it ill not to be contradicted, and had rather be answer'd rudely than not at all; because they think the Coldness and Indifference of Silence argues greater Contempt and Disdain, than it is possible for the most injurious Language to express.) In which they betray great Perverseness and Injustice. For what Reason can be given, why a Man should not be allow'd to suspend his Judgment, and still to deliberate upon Things as doubtful, without venturing to affirm on either Side; when they at the same time take a Privilege of determining as they see fit? Is not there the same Equity at least, the same Right for the one as for the other? And what mighty Crime is it, frankly to confess ones self ignorant, when he is really so; and to say nothing, when he cannot speak with good Assurance and full Satisfaction?

It is certain, that all Philosophers are agreed so much to our Disadvantage, as to pronounce, that we are ignorant of a great deal more than we know; nay, that our Knowledge is not comparable, not fit to be mention'd in competition with our Ignorance.

rance. The Causes of which are infinite; for we may be mistaken in the Objects of our Enquiry, by reason of their being too near or too distant, too great or too small, of too long or too short Duration, and in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty. These Causes of Error proceed from the Object; but then there are infinite others owing to our selves and our Manner of Perception; which in truth, is not yet universally agreed upon, nor perfectly well understood. What we think our selves sure of we do not really know, nor can we be secure of continuing in our present Opinion any time. For how often do we see fresh Arguments extort it from us? Or, if our Obstinacy will hold fast, in despite of all Reasons to the contrary, yet at least they raise a Dust, and disturb us in the Possession of it. Now I would be glad to know, which way a Man shall ever be capable of improving his Judgment, if he fasten himself down to some certain Notions, resolving to look and examine no farther, nor enduring to hear any thing offered in Prejudice of an Opinion, which he fancieth himself abundantly satisfied in already. The plain Truth is, Men are ashamed of this Suspense I am treating of, because they have a wrong Notion of it. They look upon it as a Sign of Want of Judgment; whereas in reality the greatest and most judicious Philosophers that ever liv'd, were the most frank in this Point. The Idea of Positiveness and Presumption hath taken such fast hold of them, and they think Dogmaticalness and Learning so inseparable, that they are out of Countenance in any case to own their Ignorance, lest this should be thought a Reflection upon their Parts and Attainments. There is no

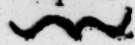
Book. II



persuading them that there is a Sort of Ignorance and Doubt, more learned, more generous, and consistent with better Assurance, and more accurate Knowledge, than all their boasted Science and Certainty. This gave that great Renown to *Socrates*, and entitled him to the Character of the wisest Man of his Age: This is the Fruit of Study and deep Enquiry, it is a modest, candid, innocent, and hearty Acknowledgment of the sublime mysterious Nature of Truth, and the Defects and Poverty of our own Understanding; so weak within, so beset with Mists and Darkness without, and from both so uncertain and unsteady in its Resolutions. *The Lord knoweth the Thoughts of Man, that they are but vain*, says the *Psalmist*: And another Author, that * *The Thoughts of mortal Men are full of Fears and Misgivings; their Inventions uncertain, and all their Forecasts dark and confused*. And I, for my own part, am so fully possessed of this Truth, that I have order'd this Motto, *I know not; Je ne sçay*, to be engraved over the Gate of my little House which I built at *Condom*.

Now there are a Sort of Persons, who take it ill, that Men should not submit themselves absolutely, and fix on some certain Principles, which ought, they tell you, never to be examin'd or controverted at all. Now I allow, that if these be such as manifest themselves to a Man's Reason, they ought to be receiv'd; but that merely upon the account of their Reasonableness, and not for the pompous Name of Principles. To impose any thing unconditionally, is Tyranny and Usurpation; and though upon due Consideration, and the Ap-

* Cogitationes mortalium timidae, incertae ad inventiones nostrae & Providentiae.



probation of my own Judgment, I allow them, yet if they will not admit me to try whether they be *Sterling* or *Counterfeit*, before I take them for current Coin, this is a Condition full of Hardship, and such as I can never yield to. For who, I would fain know, hath Power to give Law to our Thoughts, to enslave our Minds, and set up Principles which it shall not be lawful to enquire into, or admit any manner of Doubt concerning them? I can own no such Power in any but God; and he hath it upon the account of his being Truth itself, the Supreme Spirit, and the only Principle and Source of all things; which makes it as reasonable to believe him upon his bare Word, as it is, not to believe other People barely upon theirs. For this Foundation of our Belief being one of his incommunicable Perfections, it will unavoidably follow, that no other thing is injur'd or disparag'd, by our refusing the same entire Resignation to it, and challenging our Right of Examining, before we yield our Assent.

If a Man requires my Belief to what are commonly stiled by the Name of Principles, my Answer shall be the same with that of a late Prince to the several Sects in his Kingdom, *Agree among yourselves first, and then I will give my Consent too.* Now the Controversies are really as great about these Principles, as they are concerning the Conclusions advanc'd upon them; as many Doubts upon the Generals as the Particulars; so that in the midst of so many contending Parties, there is no coming in to any one without giving Offence, and proclaiming War upon all the rest.

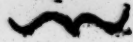
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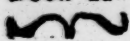
* Cogitationes mortalium timidæ, incertæ ad inventiones nostræ & Providentiæ.



probation of my own Judgment, I allow them, yet if they will not admit me to try whether they be *Sterling* or *Counterfeit*, before I take them for current Coin, this is a Condition full of Hardship, and such as I can never yield to. For who, I would fain know, hath Power to give Law to our Thoughts, to enslave our Minds, and set up Principles which it shall not be lawful to enquire into, or admit any manner of Doubt concerning them? I can own no such Power in any but God; and he hath it upon the account of his being Truth itself, the Supreme Spirit, and the only Principle and Source of all things; which makes it as reasonable to believe him upon his bare Word, as it is, not to believe other People barely upon theirs. For this Foundation of our Belief being one of his incommunicable Perfections, it will unavoidably follow, that no other thing is injur'd or disparag'd, by our refusing the same entire Resignation to it, and challenging our Right of Examining, before we yield our Assent.

If a Man requires my Belief to what are commonly stiled by the Name of Principles, my Answer shall be the same with that of a late Prince to the several Sects in his Kingdom, *Agree among yourselves first, and then I will give my Consent too.* Now the Controversies are really as great about these Principles, as they are concerning the Conclusions advanc'd upon them; as many Doubts upon the Generals as the Particulars; so that in the midst of so many contending Parties, there is no coming in to any one without giving Offence, and proclaiming War upon all the rest.

They tell us farther, that it is a horrid uneasy State of Mind, to be always thus upon the Float, and never coming to any settled Resolution, to live

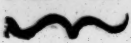
 in eternal Doubt and Perplexity of Thought; nay, that it is not only painful but very difficult and almost impracticable, to continue long in such Uncertainty. They speak this, I suppose, from their own Experience, and tell us what they feel themselves: But this is an Uneasiness peculiar to foolish and weak People. To the former, because Fools are presumptuous, and passionate, and violent Espousers of Parties and Opinions; full of Prejudices and strong Possessions; fierce Condemners of all that differ from them, never yielding the Cause, nor giving up the Dispute though they be really convinced, and supplying the Want of Reason by Heat and Anger, instead of ingenuous Acknowledgments of their Error. If they find themselves obliged to change their Opinion, you have them then as peremptory and furious in their new Choice, as ever they were in their first Principles; in short, they know not what it is to maintain an Argument without Passion; and when they dispute, it is not for the sake of Truth or Improvement, but purely for Contradiction, and the last Word, and to assert their own Notions. These Men I make no scruple to call Fools, for in truth they know nothing, not so much as what it is to *know*; so exceeding pert and confident are they, and insult as if they carried Truth about in their *Pockets*, and it was their own incommunicable Property.

As for Men of weak Judgments, and such as are not able to stand upon their Legs, it is very necessary they should not be left alone, but seek a Support from Persons of better and more discerning Abilities: But these are not concern'd in my present

sent Rule; it is their Misfortune to be born to Slavery, and out of all Capacity to enjoy the Freedom I am treating of.

But as for wise Men, who are qualified for it, Men of Modesty, and Reserve, and prudent Candor, it is the most composed State of Mind that can be, and puts us into a Condition of Firmness and Freedom, of stable and uninterrupted Happiness. * *We are so much less under Constraint than other Men, by how much more our Minds enlarge themselves, and the Liberty of judging is preserved entire.* This is a safe Course to steer, and keeps us off from many dangerous Rocks and Shelves, which Warmth, and Rashness, and a positive, conceited Humour drives Men upon. It delivers us from the vain Prepossessions of Fancy and popular Mistakes; from the Precipitation of thinking wrong at first, and the Shame of retracting when we come to think better afterwards; from Quarrels and Disputes, and engaging in, or becoming offensive to Parties: For take which Side you please, you are sure to have a great many against you; and a zealous Espouser of any Cause, must unavoidably live in a constant State of Wrangling and War. In a word, this Suspension of the Judgment keeps us snug and under a Covert, where the Inconveniences and Calamities which affect the Publick, will seldom sensibly affect, and scarce can ever involve us; at a distance from those Vices and vehement Agitations, which ruffle and discompose first Mens own Minds, and then human Society in general. For this Fierceness and Peremptoriness is at once the

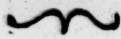
* Hoc liberiores & solutiores sumus, quia integra nobis judicandi potestas manet.

Book II.  Spawn, and the Parent of Pride, and Insolence, Ambition and Vainglory, and immoderate Desires, Presumption and Disdain, Love of Novelty and Change, Rebellion and Disobedience in the State, Heresy and Schism in the Church, Faction and Hatred, and Contention in both. These are all of the same Lineage and Descent. These are begun, fomented, inflamed by your hot, and positive, and opinionative Men; not by the modest and doubting Men, who are cautious and tender, never overconfident of themselves, and content to believe, that others are at least in a Possibility of being in the right; all which are but so many other Names for wise and well-temper'd Men.

7. I will advance yet one Step farther, and venture to affirm, that the Temper of Mind I am now recommending, is so far from having any ill Influence upon Piety, and Religion, that it is extremely well calculated to serve and promote it; whether we regard the first Propagation among Unbelievers, or preserving a due Reverence of it, where it is already received. Divinity, and especially that Part of it which is mysterious and revealed, tells us plainly, that the Mind must be cleansed and purified, in order to receive those heavenly Truths, and the Impressions of the Holy Spirit; that God will not inhabit our Souls, till all corrupt Opinions, as well as Affections, are cast out; for, with regard to both, we shall do well to understand those Commands of *purging away the old Leaven*, and *putting off the old Man*. From whence we may collect, that the most compendious and successful Method of planting the Christian Religion among Infidels, would be first to establish

establish them in the Belief of these following Propositions. " That all the Knowledge of this World
" hath a large Embasement of Vanity and Falshood
" attending it: That the generality of Mankind
" are deluded with fantastical Notions, the For-
" geries of their own Brain: That God created
" Man to the End he might acquaint himself with
" the Divine Nature and Dispensations, and em-
" ploy his Soul, and find his Happiness in these
" noble Contemplations: But, that in this decay'd
" and declining State, Man is not capable of dis-
" covering Truth by his own Strength: That
" there is consequently a Necessity of God (who
" is Truth) manifesting it to him: That God
" hath in much Mercy vouchsafed to do this by
" particular Revelations: That it is he who in-
" spires Men with a Desire of Truth, as well as
" he provides for the gratifying that Desire: That
" in order to dispose and qualify our selves for being
" instructed in the Divine Revelations, we must aban-
" don all worldly and carnal Opinions, and as it were,
" bring our Minds, a pure Blank for God to write
" his Will in." When these Points are gained,
and Men are in such Preparation to resign them-
selves to Truth, then it will be time to lay the
Foundations, and instil some of the first and plain-
est Principles of Christianity: To shew them,
" That these Doctrines came down from Heaven:
" That the Person, who vouchsafed to bring them
" was a faithful Ambassador, and entire Confident
" of God: One who knew his whole Will ex-
" actly: That his Authority was abundantly con-
" firmed by infinite Testimonies, such as were
" miraculous, supernatural, and so authentick Proofs,
" because

Book II.



“ because capable of coming from no other Hand
 “ but God’s only.” Thus this innocent and candid Suspense and Unresolvedness of Mind, would prove a happy Instrument toward the creating, and first begetting a Knowledge and Belief of the Truth where it is not: Nor would the Efficacy of it be less in preserving it, where it is planted, and hath taken Root already. For such a modest Caution and Deference would undoubtedly prevent all Manner of Singularity, and daring Extravagance in Opinions; but to be sure, it would absolutely put a Stop to Heresies and Publick Divisions. You will answer me perhaps, That the Temper I am describing, as it is too full of Indifferences to make any Hereticks, so is it too, to make any good Catholicks; and that the Danger of it is, at last degenerating into Scepticism, and want of Zeal for all Religions. Were the Condition of Religion the same in all Points with that of other Notions, and Philosophy in general, I allow there would be Force in this Objection. But as it is, this is not to argue from my Rules, but to pervert them. I have already said, That Religion stands upon a firm undoubted Bottom of its own. That God in this differs from all his Creatures; that whatever he says is exempted from the common Rules of Enquiry; and there can but one Question lie before us, which is, Whether he hath said it or no. When once this appears to us, there is no room for suspending our Judgments any longer; no Pretence for Neutrality, or Liberty of Thought, nor a questioning *How these things can be? God cannot lye*, and we cannot err in believing him; but for all things else, the more cautious

tious and curious, and the more loose and disengaged we keep our Mind with regard to them, the safer and easier we shall be. I have made a sort of Digression here, in honour of the Rule I am recommending, that those who profess themselves Enemies to it, may find their great Objection obviated. In which, if I have trespassed upon my Readers Patience, I ask his pardon: And now to our Business again.

Chap. 2.

After these two Qualities, of judging all things, and fixing our Minds obstinately upon nothing, follows the third Qualification, which is, a Largeness, or Universality of Soul. By virtue of this, the wise Man casts his Eyes, expands and stretches out his Thoughts over all this vast Universe; with *Socrates* becomes a Citizen of the World, and takes in all Mankind for his Neighbours and Country-men. Looks down like the Sun, with an equal, steady, and indifferent Eye, upon the Changes and Vicissitudes here below, as things that cannot reach, nor have the Power to change him. This is the Security, the Privilege of a wise Man, that which resembles him to the Powers above, and renders him a sort of God upon Earth. **The Mind of Man (says Seneca) is a great and generous Being, and is bounded no otherwise than the Divinity it self. The wise Man is not confined to the same*

* Magna & generosa res animus humanus, nullos Tibi poni, nisi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur: Non idem sapientem qui cæteros terminus includit, omnia illi sæcula ut Deo serviunt. Nullum Sæculum magnis ingeniis Clausum; nullum non cogitationi pervium tempus. Quam naturale in immensum mentem suam extendere? & hoc à Naturà formatus homo ut paria Diis velit, ac se in spatium suum extendat.

Book II.

narrow Compass with the rest of the World. No Age, no Time, no Place limits his Thoughts, but he penetrates and passes beyond them all. How agreeable is it to Nature for a Man to stretch his Mind infinitely? For Nature hath formed him to this very purpose, that he should emulate the Gods, and like them fill his own infinite Space. This I confess is a sort of Stoical Rant: But thus much is strictly true; that the bravest, and most capacious Souls are always most of this universal Temper; as on the contrary, the meanest and most incapable, are most cramped, have the narrowest Notions, and are always particular in their Judgments of Men and Things, aptest to be positive themselves, and to condemn all that dissent from them. It is in truth great Folly and Weakness, to imagine, that all Nations are bound to think and act just as we do, and that none live as they ought, who do not comply and agree in every point with what obtains in our own little Village or our Native Country: To think, that the Accidents which happen to us, are general and in common, and must needs affect and extend to the whole World equally. This senseless Wretch, when you tell him of Opinions, and Customs, and Laws, directly opposite to those he hath been bred up in; without more ado, condemns and expresses the greatest Detestation of them imaginable, and rails at the People as rude and uncivilized; or else he gives no Credit to these Accounts, but looks upon them as the romantick Tales of Travellers, who take Liberties of representing Foreigners very oddly to those that cannot disprove them; so absolutely enslaved are his Judgment and Affections to his own municipal Constitutions;

tutions; so impossible is it, as he thinks, that any but these should be true, or agreeable to Nature; and therefore he is verily persuaded they must needs, or at least should be universal too. It is exceeding common to traduce every thing with the reproachful Name of *Barbarism*, that we do not fancy, or see frequently practised at home; and to depend upon the Example and Ideas of the Persons with whom we converse, the Notions and the Usage of our own Country, for the Test to distinguish Truth and Reason by. Now this is a mean and brutish Debasement of the Soul, which we ought to get above; and to enlarge it, by looking no longer upon this Picture of Nature in Little, but take a View of her, as she is drawn at Length, and in all her full Proportions. The just Idea of Nature, is to consider her as the common Mother of us all; an universal Queen, whose Authority and Dominion hath the same Limits with the World, (nay, extends to more Worlds, if (as some Persons have thought) more Worlds there be.) This would inspire us with becoming and great Apprehensions of her Majesty and Beauty; There we should behold, as in an exquisite Painting, a constant and endless Variety of Things, and the longer we gazed, the more our Entertainment and our Wonder would be. Infinite Difference in Humours, disagreeing Judgments, Opinions, Customs and Laws; innumerable Disorders, Com-motions, and Alterations in States and Kingdoms; surprizing Turns of Fortune in the Affairs of private Men; a World of Victories and Triumphs buried and lost in the Rubbish of Time; many noble Entries and Processions, Poms and Grandeurs

Book II. deurs utterly vanished, and as if the Courts and Princes celebrated by them had never been at all. And by taking such a Prospect as this, and observing how such different Things and Events, like Colours well mingled, conspire to make up a general Portraiture of the World, we should learn our own Littleness, and be surprized at nothing; nor esteem things at all new or incredible; nor be over tenacious and positive in vindicating our own, and condemning the Practice of others; since it is not necessary or at all essential to Beauty, that all who pretend to it, should be of our Complexion. And that the Darkness and Difference of other Nations, like the Shades in Drawing, make a more grateful Variety; and are all agreeable and useful, for setting forth the Skill of the great, the Divine Artificer, whose Workmanship the Original, and the Life is.

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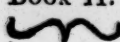
This large, brave, open, and universal Disposition of Mind is indeed scarce to be found, and hard to be compassed; and it is not every common Man, that can aspire to it. Nature hath not cut out all her Children for such an Excellence; no more than she hath qualified them all for that Wisdom and Perfection it leads to. But yet there are several Considerations that may be servicable in helping us toward it. Such is, *First*, what you find already insisted on in the foregoing Part of this Treatise, concerning the wonderful Variety, and vast Difference observable in Men; according to those Qualities of Body and Mind, which Nature hath distributed so very unequally among them. *Secondly*, Those Differences Men have made among themselves, by the disagreeing Laws and Customs, which

Book I.

Ch. 37, 38.

which obtain in several Nations and Constitutions. To both which may be added, The strange Variety of Opinions which we find the Ancients received, and delivered down to Posterity, concerning the Age, the Condition, and the Changes of the World; which yet to us seem to be very romantick and extravagant. *The *Egyptian* Priests told *Herodotus*, That since the Reign of their first King (from whom they reckoned above Eleven Thousand Years, and shewed the Statues of him and all his Successors, in the Draughts taken from the Life) the Sun had changed his Course four several times. The *Chaldeans* in *Diodorus's* time, as he and *Cicero* both say, kept a Register and Annals comprehending the Space of Four Hundred Thousand Years. *Plato* tells us, That the Citizens of *Sais* had Memorials in Manuscript of Eight Thousand Years standing; and yet they owned that the City of *Athens* was built a Thousand Years before that of *Sais*. *Aristotle*, and *Pliny*, and others, pretend that *Zoroaster* lived Six Thousand Years before *Plato* was born. Some have advanced a Notion of the World's existing from all Eternity, that it hath been destroyed and revived again several times, and hath, and will for ever hereafter go through many such Vicissitudes. Others, and those some of the most renowned Philosophers, have held the World to be a God; but yet of so inferior a Quality, as to derive its Form and pre-

* Concerning those Egyptian and Assyrian Calculations, see *Bishop Pearson on the Creed*, Art. 1. Pag. 58, 59. where he plainly refutes the Account, according to the common Computation of Years, from their own Authors.

Book II.


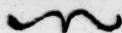
sent Being from another, and much greater God; or else, as *Plato* and some others have been induced by the Motions of it to affirm with some Degree of Confidence, that it is certainly an Animal consisting of Body and Spirit; that the Soul or Spirit is lodged in the Center of the Universe; but though its chief Residence be there, yet it expands itself all over, to the very utmost Parts of the Circumference, and that its Influences are conveyed and communicated in musical Numbers: That the several Parts of it too, thus animated and directed, as the Heaven and Stars for instance, are made up of a Body and Soul; and these, though mortal in respect of their compounded Nature, are yet immortal by the Determination of their Almighty Creator. *Plato* says, That the World puts on quite another Face, that the whole Scene is shifted; that the Heaven and Stars vary so much in their Motions, as quite to change Sides, so that Before shall be Behind, and the Point which is *East* at one time, comes to be the *West* at another. There hath also been an Opinion of great Authority, much countenanced and promoted by the most eminent Philosophers, suitable to the Power and Majesty of God, and grounded upon fair and probable Reasons, that there is a Plurality of Worlds; for we see no other thing single or solitary but this, if this be so: All Species are multiplied in Numbers, and therefore it is not unlikely, that God hath not left this Part of his Workmanship quite desolate and alone; nor exhausted his whole Power and Skill in the forming of an Individual. Nay, even Divinity assures us, that God can make as many Worlds as he pleases; for upon
a Sup-

a Supposition of the contrary, we must affirm his Power to be but finite, because the World is so. And that were a Notion contradictory to the absolute Perfection of his Nature. Let it also be considered, how much we have learned towards the rectifying our Notions of this kind, by the Improvement of Navigation, and the Discoveries lately made of a new World in the *East* and *West-Indies*. For by this we are plainly convinced, that all the Ancients were in a gross Error, when they imagined that they knew the utmost Extremities of the habitable World; and had comprehended and delineated the whole Extent of the Earth in their Maps and Books of Cosmography, except only some few scattered remote Islands. And that they were perfectly in the dark about the *Antipodes*; for here, all on a sudden, starts up a new World just like our own old one, placed upon a large Continent, inhabited, peopled, governed by Laws and civil Constitutions, canton'd out into Provinces, and Kingdoms, and Empires; adorned and beautified with noble Cities and Towns, larger, more magnificent, more delightful, more wealthy, than any that *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe* can shew, and such they have been some Thousands of Years. And have we not Reason from hence to presume, that Time will hereafter make fresh Discoveries of other Lands yet unknown? If *Ptolemy* and the ancient Writers were mistaken in their Accounts heretofore, I would be very glad to know, what better Security any Man can have of being in the right, who pretends that all is found out and fully discovered now? If any Man shall take the Confidence to be positive in this Point, I shall take my

Book II.

 Liberty in believing him. Secondly, We find the *Zones*, which were look'd on as uninhabitable, are very plentifully peopled. Thirdly, We find by Experience, that the Things which we profess to value our selves most upon, and pretend to have had the earliest Intelligence of, have been received and practised in these lately-discover'd Countries for a long time, and perhaps as soon and as long as we our selves have observed, or had notice of them. I do not pretend to determine whence they had it. And that, whether we regard religious Matters, and such as come to us by Revelation from Heaven; as for instance, the Belief of one single Man at first, the universal Progenitor of all Mankind; the universal Deluge; of a God that lived in human Flesh, and took the Substance of a pure and holy Virgin; of a Day of general Judgment; of the Resurrection of the Dead, the Observation of solemn Fasts, the Ornaments of those that minister in holy Things, the Surplice and the Mitre particularly; the Respect paid to the Cross; Circumcision like that of the *Jews* and *Mahometans*; and Counter-Circumcision which makes it a Point of Religion to prevent all Appearance of any such thing upon their Bodies: Or whether we regard civil Constitutions, as that of the eldest Son inheriting his Father's Estate; Patent Honours, taking new Names and Titles, and laying down that of their Families; Subsidies to Princes; Armories and Fortifications; Diversions of Players and Mountebanks; Musical Instruments, and all Kinds of Diversion in Use in these Parts of the World; Artillery and Printing. From all which it is very natural to deduce these following Inferences, That this huge Body which

we call the World, is very different from the common Apprehensions of Men concerning it. That it is not at all Times, and in all Places the same; but hath its Tides, its Ebbings and Flowings in perpetual Succession: That there is nothing so confidently asserted and believed in one Place, but is as generally received, as peremptorily maintained, nay, as fiercely contradicted and condemned in another. And that the Original of all this, whether Agreement or Difference, is to be resolved at last into the Nature of Man's Mind, which is susceptible of Ideas of all Sorts: And that the World being in perpetual Motion, is sometimes at greater and sometimes in less Agreement with itself, in the several Parts of it. That all things are comprehended within the general Course of Nature, and subject to the great Director of universal Nature; and that they spring up, are altered, decay, and are abolished, according as he in his Wisdom thinks fit to vary them, by the Change put upon Seasons and Ages, Countries and Places, the Air, the Climate, the Soil in which Men are born, and bred, and dwell. And lastly, That as our Predecessors were but Men, so we are no more; and since the Errors in their Judgment of Things are manifest, this should teach us to distrust and suspect our own. And when these Inferences are justly made, the Result of them must needs be, to be inseparably wedded to no Opinion, to espouse none of our Arguments and Speculations too eagerly, to be astonished at nothing, though never so unusual, not to lose our Temper upon any Accident, but whatever happens, or how violent soever the Storm may be, to fix upon this Resolution, and satisfy our selves in it; That it is but ac-



according to the Course of Nature, and that he who governs the World works as he pleases, and proceeds by the Rules of his own Wisdom ; and therefore all we have to do, is to take a prudent Care, that nothing may hurt us through our own Weakness, or Inconsideration, or Dejection of Spirit.

Thus much I thought sufficient and indeed necessary to be said upon this perfect Liberty of Judgment, consisting of the three Particulars so largely insisted on. And indeed so largely, by reason I am sensible it is not suited to the Palate of the World, but denounces War against Pedants and positive Pretenders, which are all of them Enemies to true Wisdom, as well as to this Principle of mine. The Advantages whereof have been sufficiently represented already, the Mischiefs it prevents, and the Tranquillity it brings. This was the particular Character of *Socrates*, that Father and Chief of the Philosophers, and universally acknowledged as such : By this, (as *Plutarch* says) though he had no Offspring of his own, yet he managed others so as to make them fruitful, and midwived their Productions into the World. This Temper is in some sense like that of *Ataraxie*, which *Pyrrho's* sceptical Followers called the supreme Happiness of Man : But if that Resemblance be a little over-strain'd, yet it may very well bear being compared to the Neutrality and Indifference which the Sect of the Academics professed. And the natural Effect of such a Temper is, to be discomposed or astonished at nothing ; which *Pythagoras* thought the Sovereign Good, and *Aristotle* called the true Greatness of Soul. So *Horace* ;

* Not to admire, as most are wont to do,
It is the only Method that I know,
To make Men happy, and to keep them so.

CREECH.

And is it not a most amazing Perverseness that Men cannot be prevailed with to make the Experiment; nay, that they should not bear to have it so much as recommended or mentioned, but prefer Slavery and Dependance before living upon their own Stock, getting above Fortune, and making themselves easy and Masters at all Times, and Places, and upon all Accidents alike? May we not most justly cry out with *Tiberius*, more justly indeed than he did, (*O Wretches, born to be Slaves!*) How absurd is it, that we who are such Patrons and Sticklers for Liberty in the Case of our Bodies, Estates, and all other Properties, should not bear to have our Mind free, which after all is the only Free-born Thing that belongs to any of us? We seek and employ Conveniences fetched from all Parts of the World, count no Expence too great for the Health, the Service, the Ornament of the Body; but grudge every thing for the Improvement and enriching of the Mind. In short, We are so partial, as to take all possible Pains, that the Body may be at large, while the Soul is fetter'd and coop'd up in Prison.

The other Branch of this Liberty in which the Will is concerned; is yet of greater Value, and

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*Liberty of
the Will.*

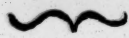
* Nil admirari prope res est una Numici,
Solaq; quæ possit facere & servare beatum.

H O R. *Epist.* vi. *Lib.* I.

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Book II.



ought to be more endeavour'd after by a wise Man, as indeed it is more serviceable to him than the former. Now here I think it necessary to admonish my Reader, that the Matter under our present Consideration, is not that Faculty and Privilege of human Nature, which Philosophers and Divines commonly stile Free-Will, nor shall we treat of it in the same Method with them: But my Meaning is, That a wise Man ought to preserve his own Ease and Quiet, to keep his Will and Affections free and disengaged, and to lay them out upon very few Objects, and those such as may justify his Choice; (for indeed the Things that deserve our Choice and challenge our Affections, if nicely examined, will be found but very few.) But this is not all; for even those that deserve them best will not justify our Vehemence, and Eagerness, and immoderate Fondness of them. And here I find my self under some Necessity of encountering two very popular and plausible Opinions. The one is that which teaches us to be always forward to serve other People, to lay aside all Thoughts of one's self for the sake of our Neighbours; and especially when the Publick Good is concerned, pretends that no private Interest ought to come in Competition with it: And the other prompts us to espouse such Matters with all possible Zeal, and to the very utmost of our Power. He that declines the former is accused of wanting good Nature and a publick Spirit; and he that is remiss in the latter is suspected of Coldness and Indifference, Want of Generosity and the Zeal that is required of a good Man; and in short, reputed incapable of making a Friend. Now whatever there may really be at the Bottom
of

of these Opinions, yet it is plain the World have overloaded the Foundation, and built such Notions upon it, as exceed all Reason and Measure; and nothing can be more romantick and extravagant, than what we find delivered upon these Occasions. For our Governors, who feel the Advantage of them, oftentimes infuse Principles into us, not according to the true Merits of the Cause, but in proportion as they perceive they may prove serviceable and beneficial: And it frequently falls out, that those Opinions which are in themselves most reasonable and true, are not most convenient to be generally entertained. And besides this, observing how natural the Love of our selves and our own private Advantage is, and what Partialities and unreasonable Excesses it is apt to carry us into, they thought it necessary to divert and draw us off as far from this as possibly; and so took the common Course of bending the crooked Stick the contrary way, that it might at last stand strait by being forced toward the other Extreme.

But these Opinions, when misunderstood, and misapplied, (which is commonly the Fate of most Opinions, when they fall into the Hands of a Multitude) occasion great Injustice and Disorder, many Difficulties, and grievous Mischiefs. As we may plainly observe in those Persons, that snap at every Bait of this kind, let themselves out to hire as it were, and devote all their Time and Pains to the Service of other People. These Men do not only suffer themselves to be managed, and taken absolute Possession of by their Friends, but they thrust themselves forward of their own accord, and will have an Oar in every Boat; It is indiffe-

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Book II.

rent to them, whether the Matter concerns them, or not; whether it be of great Consequence, or of none at all; still they interest themselves in all alike; for indeed they often do it merely to keep themselves in Motion and Employment; It stirs their Spirits, puts their Soul into a pleasing sort of Agitation; and thus **they are busy purely because they love to be so.* They cannot bear the having nothing to do, nor can they confine their Thoughts to their own Affairs; but either do not see, or carelessly overlook them; and so seek Employment abroad, and meddle and turn Undertakers in things that are foreign and distant, as if they had nothing at all to do at home; no Concerns that are essential and necessary to be followed; no personal, no domestick Cares, that lie upon their Hands; such as ought to be first dispatch'd; and which, if duly attended to, would leave no room for Sloth, nor Leisure so great, as should prove a Temptation to us, to turn Managers for other People, that we may keep ourselves in Action. Many of these Persons are good Husbands of their Purse, and careful not to part with a Penny of Money, but upon valuable Considerations: But they are unreasonably prodigal of their Soul, their Life; squander away their Time and their Pains, their Affections and their Will, most profusely and unaccountably; dedicate themselves and all their Powers, to any Occasion that calls for their Assistance; and yet, when all is done, these are the valuable Treasures, of which we ought to be exceeding choice and sparing; and in such Instances it is chiefly, that

* In Negotio sunt negotii causâ.

Frugality

Frugality and good Management are commendable. But alas! the Persons we speak of are so far from this, that they glory in their Extravagance; act all with such Violence and Passion, that they are lost to Reason and common Sense; and never think they do enough, till they have engaged as deep as possible; and given up their Persons and their Wits both, to the Cause they espouse. Great Men make their Advantage of such Tempers as these; Men that will be eager, and angry, and expose, nay, lose their Lives upon Pretences of Friendship, and Punctilio's of Honour and Respect, are special Tools for their Purpose. And they are not wanting to countenance and caress them, throw out large Promises, and use a thousand little Stratagems to draw them in, and fix them to their Party: But tho' Fools believe and are caught by them, yet wise Men know this is all Trick and Design; that there is Deceit in the Bait, and Death upon the Hook; and that all their fair Carriage and large Promises are designed, not at all to serve us, but to serve themselves of us.

Now, *First* of all, This Temper we have been describing puts all into Confusion, exposes the Mind to perpetual Uneasiness, and brings it into a State of absolute Slavery. It argues Ignorance of that which every one ought to know, and that is, how much he owes to himself, and what the Obligations are, and the Offices arising from them, which are first and strictly due at home. All which these Persons violate; for while they are so mighty officious, and liberal in the Service of other People, they injure and defraud themselves; and spend that Stock of Ease and Comfort,
which

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which is their own due, and ought to be preserved. Besides, if we desire Business, Providence hath cut us out enough of our own; let us but look at home, and discharge the Duty of our respective Stations diligently; but especially, let us but look within, and we shall be far from finding any Occasion to ask for Work of our Neighbours: The Difficulty will then be to dispatch that which they ask of us; and instead of laying our selves out upon every Body's Business besides, we shall then find our Hands full, and a Necessity of keeping close to our own. He that takes Care to live as becomes his Virtue and his Honour, so as may preserve his Health, and give him a contented and chearful Enjoyment of the World, hath enough to do: and he that neglects or impairs any of these, merely to do another Service, is ill advised; and under colour of Good-nature to his Friend, is guilty of great Injustice and Ill-nature to himself. To oblige and assist others, so far as may be consistent with the securing these things to ourselves, is sufficient; but to go beyond that, is to break our Duty in one particular, while we supererrogate in another. He is an unreasonable Man, that expects one should sacrifice his Virtue or his Happiness to him; and he is a very foolish Man that will do it, if it be expected. And therefore I repeat again a Direction given just now, That a Man ought to espouse and devote himself to but very few things; and to take care that these be such, as will justify the setting his Heart upon them; and they, to be sure, can be but very few.

13.

Secondly, This Eagerness of Intention and vehement Concern, is not only unfit and unjust in other

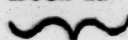
ther respects, but it is also an Inconvenience to it Chap. 2.

self. For it puts Men beside their Measures, and proves the greatest Hindrance and Perplexity that can be, to that very Undertaking which we are so impatient to accomplish, and have set our Hearts so much upon. As, when we strive to go exceeding fast, our Legs sink under us, or step awry, or interfere, and stop one another. * *The very Swift-ness of the Pace confounds it self, so that even Haste breeds Delay. And he that begins too fast is slowest in finishing.* Thus it is likewise with the Mind of a Man, when intoxicated with this forward and furious Vehemence of Intention; he confounds and hampers himself; betrays himself to Indiscretion and Injustice in his Proceedings; renders himself suspected, and hardly thought of; gives Offence and Ground of Resentment to others, and puts his own Mind upon a perpetual Fret and Ferment, as oft as any thing happens, that either defeats or delays the Success he is labouring after. † *Heat and Violence never manage any thing well.* We may observe it daily, what Advantages Men lose, and how great an Injury they do themselves, their Business, the Cause and Party they espouse, by this Want of Temper; even to the Ruin of the fairest and most promising Expectations, in Matters of the greatest Importance. And the thing is no less evident too, in the most common and insignificant Cases. In a Matter so frivolous

* *Ipse se velocitas implicat, unde Festinatio tarda est. Qui nimium properat serius absolvit.*

† *Male cuncta ministrat. — Impetus.*

Book II.



as Play, for Instance, where he that is eagerest and most intent upon Winning, breaks the Rules and proper Methods, overlooks the Advantages of the Game, and contributes to his own Loss. Whereas an Adversary that plays calmly and sedately, hath always his Eyes and his Wits about him, his Passion never transports his Reason, but he makes the best of every Chance, and does not only enjoy the Diverſion, but bid fairest for the Success. He makes his Feints and Doubles, and lays hold on every favourable Occasion; if he fails of his Design, he bears it with Moderation, and makes it up another time; is always ready to observe and to improve every Change of Fortune; and by jogging on leisurely, and keeping the Reins in his own Hand, comes soonest and safest to his Journey's End.

14.

This leads us to the *Third* Remark of very great Consequence, which is, That this vehement and eager Zeal infects the Mind, and corrupts the Judgment. For while Men are addicted to one Person or Party, and wholly set upon promoting their Advantage, they go furiously to work, and strain every thing beyond its due Pitch. They extol their Favourites and Partners in the same Cause with undeserved Commendations, and load their Adversaries with odious Characters and false Accusations; turn superstitious to the last degree; and interpret every Event as ominous, and a Prognostication of Good in favour of themselves and Friends, and a plain Declaration of Providence, against those that are engaged in Opposition to them. Nay, they carry this Folly so far, as not to see or allow any Virtue or good Quality in their Adver-

Adversaries; represent them as vicious and Villains, and would have us believe, that all who think, and act, and design otherwise, than they themselves do, must either be Knaves, or Fools, and Madmen; and those who are more just and moderate in their Sentiments, that observe any real Virtues, and give due Praises to those that differ from them, are presently suspected to be of the same Party and Principle, merely for their Charity in vindicating or excusing, and not running into the same Excesses of Partiality and Prejudice, the same unreasonable Censures and Condemnations, with these hot-headed Zealots. Whereas indeed nothing can be more extravagant, than to imagine that a Man who is not one of us cannot possibly be a good Man; and that he may not, for the main, or at least in some Cases, where the Point in difference is no way concerned, be very honest and commendable, though it be his Unhappiness to be under a wrong Persuasion, and in some Particulars embarked in the Interest or Opinions of those who are very naughty Men. That Passion should commit a Violence upon the Will, is but too much; but that it should debauch and blind the Judgment, and destroy Charity and common Sense, is abominable, and not to be endured. And Men should by all means think themselves obliged to proceed with Equity and Candor; to see and to acknowledge Goodness, where-ever it is to be found, tho' in the worst and most mistaken Enemies; and not to palliate, or overlook, much less to defend and applaud the Vices and Follies of our Friends and Followers; but to lay aside all private Considerations, and frankly to express our Detestation of these

Book II.

these Things, let the Persons guilty of them be who, or what they will. The contrary wicked Practice, (for a very wicked one it is) seems to proceed in a great measure from Want of considering and distinguishing aright, what the Points in difference are, and how far they extend. For it is most certain, that where the Controversy is no way concerned, we ought to behave ourselves with all manner of Indifference, and pass fair and equitable Judgments, as we would do, supposing no Dispute or Disagreement at all. And Resentments should never be carried beyond that particular Subject which provokes them, nor Anger, of all Passions, suffered to grow general and unlimited. And these are some of the many Evils, which too great Eagerness and Intention of Mind naturally brings upon Men, let the Matter we set our Hearts so much upon be what it will: For this Disposition is capable of Excess, and liable to Inconveniences, when fixed upon the very best Object; and a Man may suffer by being too vehement and hot, in the Pursuit even of Goodness and Wisdom itself.

15. Now in order to moderate this affectionate Earnestness, and reduce the Mind to due Temper; every Man ought to remember, that the most important thing given us in charge by God and Nature, that to which we have the strongest Obligations, and consequently such as ought to be first satisfied, is, that every Man should look well to his Conduct: This good Management of ourselves is the very Business upon which we were sent into the World at first, and are continued in it still. And this Duty we do by no means discharge faithfully, except the Peace, and Tranquillity, and Liberty

berty of our Minds be consulted and preserved. And preserved these cannot be, unless we make it our Principle and Rule, to lend ourselves to a Friend, but to give ourselves up to none but ourselves; to take Business in hand, but not to lay it to Heart; to bear it as a Burden, and be content with sustaining the Weight of it upon our Shoulders, but not to incorporate and unite with it, by making it inseparable and a Part of ourselves; to bestow all possible Diligence, but not to misplace and throw away our Affections upon it; to fasten eagerly upon very few things, and to stick to them only so, as still to continue at our own Disposal, and be disengaged easily and at our Pleasure. This is the true, the sovereign Remedy against all the Inconveniencies and Uneasinesses formerly mention'd; and this is not any such selfish and narrow-spirited Advice, as some may imagine. It does not condemn or exclude any of those Duties or Good Offices required from us; it does no Prejudice to the Publick, our Friends or our Neighbours; so far from that, that it is most certain we are bound by all the Tyes of Honour and Religion, to be courteous and kind, assisting and serviceable to one another; to comply with the Customs and Occasions of the World, and apply ourselves to the Observance of the one, and the Supply of the other, as our Circumstances will permit; and in order hereunto, every Man is obliged to contribute to the common Good; and conscientiously to perform all those Duties and mutual Offices, which any way concern him, as a Member of the Body-politick, and may conduce to the Benefit of

Book II.

*Human Society. * He that is a Friend to himself, is a Friend to all Mankind;* for the Love and Care of ones self is so far from engrossing, and confining all we can do to our own single Persons; that it implies and puts us upon the being as universally beneficial, and diffusing our Powers as far and wide as we can. But still, I must insist upon it, that the most generous Inclinations and Endeavours of this kind ought to be tempered with Moderation and Prudence; and no Man is publick-spirited as he should be, unless he be discreet withal; and that in these two Respects particularly. First, Not to apply, or lay himself out upon every Occasion that offers indifferently, but first to sit down, and consider well the Justice, the Reasonableness, and the Necessity of the Thing; whether it will answer his Design, and be worth his Pains. And if this were done, a world of Trouble might be spared. Then Secondly, That even those Occasions which have the best Title to his Application, may be follow'd without Violence and Vexation of Mind. A Man should contract his Desires, and bring them within as small a Compass as he can; the little he does desire should be pursued with Temper, and be desired moderately; his Application should be free from Anxiety and Distraction: And in any the most important Matters that we undertake, we may be allowed to employ our Hands, our Feet, our Tongue, the Attention of our Thoughts, the Sweat of our Brows, all proper Means in order to the effecting them, nay, to spend our Blood and hazard our Lives, if the Occasion require it; but still all this is to be done with

* Qui sibi amicus est, hunc omnibus scito esse amicum.

a Re-

a Reserve, calmly and considerately, without Passion and Torment, without Fretfulness and Impatience. A Man must always preserve the Government and Command of himself, the Health of his Body, the Soundness of his Mind, the Tranquillity and Ease of both so far as is possible. For Success does by no means depend upon Heat, and Forwardness, and an impetuous Eagerness of the Will; but is much oftener and better attained without it; and the cooler our Proceedings are, the greater Expectations we may entertain from them. It is a vulgar and a very gross Mistake, that no Affair is undertaken heartily and to purpose, without a great deal of Noise, and Hurry, and Bustle. For, as I have already shewed, these only disorder and perplex the Cause, put Men beside their Byass, and are so many fresh Obstructions. How common a thing is it to observe vast Numbers of Men, who venture their Persons in the Wars, and are in daily, hourly Peril of their Lives, without any anxious Concern at all; they march up to the Cannon's Mouth when their Post requires it, and push on to Action, and yet neither the Hazard, nor the Loss of the Battels they fight, ever breaks them one Night's Rest: They consider this is their Duty, and upon that Consideration they discharge it chearfully. And yet at the same time that you see the Camp and the Field so easy and void of Care, a splenetick Politician, who never had the Courage to look Danger in the Face, shall sit you at home, and teaze and afflict himself with the Event of this Engagement, and be a thousand times more perplex'd and mortified with any ill Success, than

Book II. those very Soldiers who spend their Blood, and stake down their Lives in the Service.

16. In a word; We must learn to understand our selves and our Condition, and distinguish aright between our private and personal, and our publick Capacities. For every one of us is under a double Character, and hath two Parts to play. The one external and visible, but somewhat foreign and distant; the other domestick, and proper, and essential to us. Now though our Shirt be next to our Skin, yet according to the Proverb, we should always remember, that how near soever our Shirt may be, our Skin is still nearer to us. A judicious Person will discharge his Duty to the Publick, and fill an Office well; and yet at the same time will discern the Folly, and Wickedness, and Cheat, which a Publick Station exposes him to the Practice of. He will not decline the Thing, because it is agreeable to the Custom and Constitution of his Country; it is necessary and useful to the Publick, and perhaps advantageous to himself: He will submit in many things to do as the World does, because the rest of Mankind live at the same rate; and since he cannot mend the World, it is to no purpose to disturb it by being singular. But still he will look upon this as a Matter somewhat foreign, and consider his Character as adventitious and accidental, not natural to him; it is what he is obliged to put on and appear in; but he was not born with it, nor is it a Part of him. And therefore he will always exercise it with all due Limitations and Reservations; and not so embark in Business, as to be quite swallowed up in it; but manage Matters so, that he may still enjoy himself, and be free and

easy with a particular Friend, or at least within his own Breast; not so serve the World as to neglect and be out of a Condition to serve himself; nor endeavour the Benefit of others, at the Expence or Loss of a Good, that is truly and properly his own. Chap. 3.

C H A P. III.

*True and substantial Integrity of Mind,
the first and fundamental Part of Wisdom.*

THE Directions laid down in the two foregoing Chapters, being such Preparations as were thought necessary for disposing aright the Person who aspires after Wisdom, and qualifying him to make a successful Progress in it; that is, by removing the Obstructions and clearing his Mind of Prejudices, and setting it at large from the Slavery and Confinement of popular Opinions, and private Passions; and also by advancing to that noble and happy Freedom of Thought and Will already described; that from hence, as from some advantageous rising Ground, he may take a full Prospect, and arrive at a clear and distinct Knowledge, and attain to an absolute Mastery over all the Objects and Things that occur to him here below; (which is the peculiar Character and Privilege of an exalted and refined Soul;) It may now be seasonable to advance in the Method proposed at our

Book II. Entrance into this Book ; by giving some fit Instructions and general Rules of Wisdom. The two first whereof are still but in the Nature of Prefaces to the main Work ; necessary to be laid in the Quality of Foundations, upon which to raise this glorious Superstructure. And the former and principal of these two, designed for the Subject of this Chapter, is *Probity* and *Sincerity*.

That true Honesty and Integrity of Heart and Life is the first, the chief, the fundamental Point of true Wisdom, is an Assertion, which it may perhaps be thought needless for me to give my self any great Trouble in proving. For in truth, all Mankind agree in highly extolling, and zealously pretending to it ; (though it is but too manifest, that what some do in this kind seriously, and out of conscientious Regard to their Duty, and the real Worth of this Virtue ; others put on only to set the best Face upon the Matter, and are compelled to dissemble from Shame, and Fear, and the ill Consequences of avowing the contrary.) Thus far then the whole World is agreed ; that Honesty is recommended, and respected, and at least complimented ; every Man professes to be passionately in love with it, and subscribes himself its *most Faithful, most Affectionate, and most Devoted Servant*. So that I may spare my self the Pains of arguing in behalf of the Thing in general ; but I am afraid notwithstanding, it will prove no such easy Matter to make Men agree with the Notions of that, which in my Esteem is the true and essential Honesty, and to persuade the as universal Love, but especially the universal Practice of that which I think necessary upon this Occasion. For as to that

that which is in common Vogue, and usually reputed such, though the World I know are generally satisfied, and trouble themselves so little about understanding or attaining to any thing better, that (except a very few wise Men) they have no Ideas, no Wishes beyond this; yet I make no Difficulty to affirm, that it is all but a spurious and counterfeit Virtue, Sham and Trick, and the Product of Art and Study, Falshood and Disguise.

Now first of all, We cannot but be sensible, that Men are very often drawn on, and push'd forward to good Actions by several Sorts of Motives. Sometimes such as are by no means commendable; as natural Defects and Infirmities, Passion and Fancy, nay sometimes by Vice, and Things in their own Nature sinful. Thus Chastity, and Sobriety, and Temperance of all Sorts, may be, and often are, owing to a weak Body and tender Constitution, which cannot support Excess. Contempt of Death, to Peevishness and Discontent; Patience under Misfortunes, Resolution and Presence of Thought in Dangers, to Want of Apprehension and Judgment, and a due Sense how great or imminent the Danger is. Valour, and Liberality, and Justice, are often inspired and practis'd by Ambition and Vainglory; the Effects of good Conduct, discreet Management, of Fear, and Shame, and Avarice. And what a world of renowned and noble Exploits have been owing to Presumption and Fool-hardiness, Rashness and Inconsideration? Thus what we commonly call Actions and Instances of Virtue, are in reality no better than Masks, and counterfeit Appearances of it: They have the Air and the Complexion, but by no means the Sub-

2.
False Appearances of it.

Book II.

stance of it. So much Resemblance there is, that the Vulgar who are no Criticks in Faces, may easily mistake the one for the other; and so much of Good there is in the Effects and Consequences of such Actions, that other People may be allowed to call them virtuous; but it is impossible the Person himself who does them, should esteem them such; or that any considering Man can either allow them this Character when nicely examined, or think one jot the better of the Man that does them. For Interest, or Honour, or Reputation, or Custom and Compliance, or some other Causes altogether foreign to Virtue will be found at the Bottom; and however beautiful the Front may be, the Foundation is rotten and stark naught. Sometimes very great and surprizing Things are the Result of nothing better than mere Stupidity and Brutishness; which gave Occasion for that Reflection, That Wisdom and Insensibility met together in the same Point, and both of them felt and hardened themselves alike under Accidents and Misfortunes. From all which, and a great deal more that might be said, it appears, how exceeding dangerous and uncertain a Method those Men take, who look no further than the outward Face of Things, and from the Actions, as we see them, form a peremptory Judgment of the Probity, or the Disingenuity of the Person. Whereas, for a right understanding of this Matter, we ought to take a distinct View of the Inside, examine the whole Movement, and mark well what Springs they are that set it on going. For it often happens, that very ill Men do very good, and commendable, and beneficial Actions: And both good and bad Men restrain

strain themselves, and avoid Evil; but though both Chap. 3.
abstain alike, yet they do it out of very different
Principles, as *Horace* hath observed pertinently e-
nough to this purpose,

** So crafty Foxes dread the secret Snare;
The Kite and Hawk, although the Bait be fair,
Yet never stoop where they suspect a Gin.
The Good for Virtues sake abhor a Sin;
'Tis fear of Punishment restrains thy Will.
Give leave; How eagerly wouldst thou be ill?*

HOR. by CREECH.

To make a just Discovery of the Man, and in-
form our selves what is Honesty and Sincerity in-
deed, the Actions are too weak an Evidence, and
he that goes no farther, can know nothing. These
are only the gross Substance, a Copy of his Coun-
tenance, and the counterfeit Lustre of a false Stone;
the Jewel cannot be distinguished with so superfi-
cial a View; it is not enough to hear the Sound,
we must judge the Harmony, and know what
Hand it is that moves the Strings. For the Mo-
tive and Cause is the Life and Soul of all, and gives
both Being and Denomination to the whole Acti-
on. This is the only Mark we have to judge by;
and every Man is chiefly concerned to take care
that this be pure, and good, and in every regard
what it ought to be. All which depends upon the

** Cautus enim metuit foveam lupo accipiterque
Suspectos laqueos, & opertum milvius hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pœnæ;
Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.*

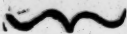
HOR. *Epist.* xvi. *Lib.* I.

Upright-

Book II. Uprightness of the Intention, and unblemished
 Honesty of the Heart; and that is the very Quality we are now looking after.

3. That Integrity, which passes in common Esti-
What No- mation for the true, and is generally recommend-
tions the ed and extolled, and which indeed is all, that those
World who have the Character and Commendation of
have of it. just, and honest, and fair-dealing Men pretend to,
 is at the best, but a mean, and formal, and pedan-
 tick Virtue; such as is a Slave to Laws, and takes
 its Measures from thence; is checked and kept un-
 der by Hope and Fear; is acquired, learned, pro-
 duced, and practised upon the Account of, and in
 Submission to, the Religion we profess, the Go-
 vernment we live under, the Customs of our Coun-
 try, the Commands of our Superiors, the Exam-
 ples of them we converse with, bound up in Forms,
 and limited by the Letter of the Law; an effe-
 minate, poor-spirited Honesty, perplexed with
 Doubts, and Scruples, and Terrors of Conscience.
 For some People never think themselves innocent,
 and as they should be, when their Minds are quiet,
 and easy, and void of Fear. Now such an Hone-
 sty as this, must not only be mutable and manifold
 in several Parts of the World, and vary as the Re-
 ligion, and Laws, and Examples, and Forms, and
 Modes of the Countries, where Men happen
 to converse, shall vary; (For where the
 Springs of Action change, the whole Movement
 must needs change proportionably.) But, which
 is yet more to its Disparagement, it must needs be
 irregular, and unequal; inconsistent with it self, float-
 ing and unsettled; full of Ebbings and Flowings,
 Intervals of Heat and Cold; inconstant and pre-
 carious;

carious; depending on the Events and Successes of Chap. 3.
Affairs; the offering of Occasions, and Interposition of sudden Emergencies; the Difference of Persons and Circumstances; and a thousand other unforeseen Accidents, which move this Man and his Virtue, as a Boat is moved by Sails and Oars, by sudden Strokes and Spurts, and Gusts and Puffs of Wind. In a word, these Men are good purely by Chance, by Fits and Starts, by external and very distant Motives; and not in Reality, and by virtue of a fixed and governing Principle. This Defect of theirs is what not only Standers by, but even themselves are sensible of: They never observe, nor discover their own Imperfections, but it were easy to shew them to themselves, and make the thing plain to them, by holding a stiff Rein, observing them more nicely and distinctly; and quickning their Attention a little. And indeed nothing would be a more effectual Conviction of their Deficiency, than the mighty Inequality of their Actions and Tempers, and their own Disagreement with themselves. For in one and the same Case, you shall find them coming to quite different Resolutions and Determinations; and acting in direct Contradiction to what they have done before. Sometimes they are so heavy and dull that neither Whip nor Spur can get them forward; and presently upon the full Speed, that no Bit can stop them. Now this prodigious Unevenness and Difference of Behaviour, is occasioned by the Difference of those external Motives, by which they are governed and managed; and as these sometimes agitate and heat them violently, swell and multiply, or grow lukewarm and cold, and flag and droop again; so must their Virtue and Zeal needs
increase

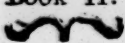
Book II.  increase and abate accordingly; and thus it distinguishes itself from real and substantial Virtue, by that Property natural to all Accidents; which is, the being capable of Augmentation and Diminution; and so of no better Extract, than all those Qualities, whose Dishonour it is, according to the Terms of the Schools, *Recipere magis & minus*.

4. *What it is in Truth.* Now that true and substantial Integrity, which I insist upon at present as a necessary Qualification, in order to Wisdom, is free and easy, void of Affectation and Constraint, masculine and generous, pleasant and chearful, equal and uniform, constant and steady, magnanimous and brave; keeping on its own Course, and never looking to the right Hand or to the left; never standing still or slackning, or quickning its Pace, upon the Account of Wind or Weather; Accident and Occasions may change, but this continues always the same. It is not in the Power of any thing to alter or shade it; my Meaning is, that Men's Judgment and Will are fixed and immutable, and the Soul, where this Integrity hath taken up its Residence, is never to be corrupted, or diverted to dishonest Purposes. For the Sincerity of the Heart is the Virtue we are treating of; there it is lodged, by that we must judge; for external Actions, and those especially that are of a publick Capacity and Importance, are of a Nature and Consideration very different from this; as I shall have Occasion to shew hereafter, when my Method brings me to treat of them distinctly.

Of this I shall give my Reader some Description, when I have first desired him to recollect what was said in the Preface; and that in Agreement

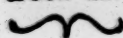
ment to the Design of this Treatise, I speak of Chap. 3.
Probity and Wisdom at present, as Virtues purely
human, such as entitle a Man to the Character of
an honest or a prudent Man with regard to civil
Affairs and common Conversation, without any re-
spect at all to the Christian and more exalted Sense
of the Thing. Of which nevertheless, though
foreign to the general Intent of my Book, I shall
take occasion to say some little Matter, before I
leave this Subject.

The true Spring and Source of this Probity is
Nature, which obliges a Man to be such as he
ought to be; that is, to conform and govern him-
self according to her Dictates and Directions. For
Nature maintains a twofold Character, and is at
once a Mistress to command, and a Law to teach,
and set us out our Duty. With regard to the for-
mer of these Capacities, there is an internal, uni-
versal, that is, a natural Obligation incumbent up-
on every Man, to be an honest sincere Man, and
so to answer the End of his Creation. And this is
an Obligation so strong, an Inducement so weighty,
that no one need look for any greater, any additi-
onal Motives; nor indeed is it possible to find any
that deserve greater Deference and Regard, any an-
tecedent to it; since its Validity is of the same
Date with our selves, and both it and we came in-
to the World together. Every Man ought to
make it his Business and Care to be a good Man,
upon this very account, because he is a Man; for
he who is regardless of this Point is a Monster, re-
nounces himself, reproaches his Nature, and in ef-
fect ceases to be what he appears, and usurps a
Form which of right belongs not to him. This
Probity

Book II. Probity must also be of its own Growth, without  Cultivating or Constraint; that is, it must proceed from an internal Principle, which God hath wrought into our Nature and Constitution; and not be the effect of Accident, or any foreign Inducement. No Man whose Will is uncorrupt, would chuse a Thing in its Declension, as debased and fallen from its natural Perfection: It is a Contradiction to pretend a Man desires a thing, and that he is indifferent at the same time, whether it be what it ought, and have all the commendable Qualities of right belonging to it. A Man is solicitous to have all his Parts in their true Perfection; his Head, his Eyes, his Judgment, his Memory, his whole Body, nay the very Conveniences and Accoutrements belonging to that Body; and shall his Will and his Conscience be the only neglected Things about him? Shall it be no Part of his Care, whether these have their due Integrity or not? I would have a Man resolute in Goodness, though it were but purely upon his own account, and in regard to his Character as he is a Man; sensible that to act otherwise, is, as much as in him lies, to abandon and destroy himself; and thus Probity will be an internal Principle, as essential to, and of a piece with him, as he is with himself. No external Cause is capable of being a sufficient Foundation for it, because all such are foreign and accidental, and as such, are liable to Changes and Decays; and whenever the Foundation sinks, the Superstructure must of Necessity tumble with it: If a Man be virtuous and just for the sake of his Reputation, or any other Advantage, What Obligation will this be to his Retirements,

ments, to his solitary Actions? Take off the Hopes Chap. 3.
of his Virtue being known, and you either take
off the whole Thing, or cool and check his Vi-
gor in the Practice of it. If Fear of Laws and
Punishments restrain him, put him but in a Way
to elude the Laws, and escape publick Discovery,
and what shall secure his Honesty then? So poor,
so precarious, so uncertain a Thing is this occasi-
onal Virtue: And yet this is the Virtue in Vogue,
and what very few rise beyond. As the World
goes, 'tis very well if all these Considerations will
prevail upon Men to do what becomes them; nay,
if their Actions be commendable or blameless,
whatever their secret Dispositions are. Now I ex-
pect in the Person whom this Treatise undertakes
to form, a Probity that will stand upon its own
Bottom; so firmly rooted, that you can no more
separate it from the Man, than you can his very
human Nature itself. I expect he should never
yield to do an ill Thing, though he could be as-
sur'd it will never be known. For is it possible to
conceal it from himself? And if his own Consci-
ence be privy to it, what need any farther Witnes-
ses? This one is more than all the World besides.
By the same Reason he must be as obstinately good,
notwithstanding any Recompence which would
bribe him to be otherwise; for it is impossible he
should receive a valuable Consideration in this Case;
and nothing can be so near to him as his own Es-
sence, which Wickedness impairs and corrupts. To
yield upon such Temptations, is like the being
content with a very ill Horse, provided a Man
have an embroider'd Saddle. I must therefore in-
sist upon it, that being a Man, and taking care to
live

Book II.



live as becomes one, that is, taking Care to be a sincere good Man, should always go together, and be above the Power of all the World to separate them. This Particular I think is sufficiently urged, let us now proceed to the next.

6. Now the Model and Pattern, the Spring and Source of this Integrity, is the Law of Nature; by which I mean universal Equity and Reason, that Candle of our Maker lighted up in every Breast, to guide and shine in us perpetually. For this is the Dictate and Direction of God himself; he is the King, and this the fundamental Law of the Universe, a Ray and Beam of the divine Nature, that flows from, and hath a necessary Connection and Dependance upon that eternal and immutable Law, which the Almighty prescribes to his own Actions. A Man that proceeds upon this Principle, is his own Rule; for he acts in Agreement with the noblest and most valuable Part of his Nature. This Man's Honesty is essential to, and inseparable from him; not precarious and uncertain, and owing merely to Chance and Occasion: For this Light and Law is born with, and bred in us, a Piece of our Frame and original Constitution; and from thence obtains the Name of *Nature*, and *the Law of Nature*. Such a Man by consequence will be a good Man constantly, and at all times; his Virtue will be uniform and even, every Place, every Emergency will find him the same. For this Law of Nature is perpetual, the Obligation of it is lasting and inviolable, the Equity and Reason of it are eternal, written in large and indelible Characters; no Accident can deface them, no Length of Time waste or wear them out; even Wickedness
itself,

itself, by the customary Habits whereof the positive and additional Improvements of this Law are corrupted, yet cannot debauch or exterminate these first and natural Notions; no Place, no Time can alter or disguise them, but they continue every where the same. The Collections inferred from them differ infinitely, but these first Principles themselves, which are the Ground of all moral Institutions, admit of no Change, no Increase, no Abatement, no Fits and Starts, no Ebbings and Flowings; but as they are a Part of our Substance, so do they agree with what the Schools say of all Substances in general, * that it is contrary to their Nature *to be more or less* than they are. Why then, vain Man, dost thou trouble thy self to seek abroad for some Law and Rule to Mankind? What can Books or Masters tell thee, which thou might'st not tell thy self? What can Study or Travel shew, which at the Expence of much less Pains thou mightest not see at home, by descending into thy own Conscience, and hearkening attentively to its Admonitions? When Ignorance of this Kind is pretended, the same Reply is fit for thee, which would be given to a shuffling Debtor, who, when Payment is demanded, professes not to know how the Money became due, when all the while he hath the Bill about him: For thou carriest the Bond, and the Particulars of thy Debt in thy own Bosom; and what thou seekest Information of from others, canst not but know, if thou consult thy self.

To what purpose is all this Labour and Cost; the toilsome tumbling over of Codes and Institutes,

* Substantia non recipit magis & minus.

Book II.

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Rom. ii.

12.

Rom. i.

18.

of Precedents and Reports, of Statutes and Records, when all these are contained in one small portable Volume? The Two Tables of *Moses*, the Twelve Tables of the *Greeks*, the Law written in the Hearts of them who had no Law, and in short, all the Rules of Equity and good Laws that have any where been enacted, and obtained in the World, are nothing else but Copies and Transcripts produc'd in open Court, and publish'd from that Original which thou keepest close within thee, and yet all the while pretendest to know nothing of the matter; stifling and suppressing, as much as in thee lies, the Brightness of that Light which shines within; and so falling under the Condemnation of those mentioned by the Apostle, *who hold, or detain, the Truth of God in Unrighteousness*. If this have not been sufficiently published, and promulged as loud, as clear, as intelligibly as other human Laws, the only Reason is, that that Light which is really all-heavenly and divine, hath been put under a Bushel, that is, too much neglected, and industriously forgotten. All other Institutions are but so many Rivulets and Streams derived from this common Source: And although they be more visible, and obvious and express, yet is not the Water they carry so copious, nor so lively and pure, as that of the unseen Spring within thy own Breast, if thy own Negligence did not suffer it to waste and dry up. It is not, I say, so copious; for as one well observes, * *What a world of good Offices are there which Piety, Humanity, Liberality, and Fidelity require from a Man, and yet no written*

* Quàm multa Pietas, Humanitas, Liberalitas, Fides exigunt, quæ extra Tabulas sunt?

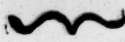
or positive Law ever prescribed? Alas! how poor Chap. 3.

and scanty a thing is that Honesty of your formal and hypocritical Pretenders, who stick to the Letter of the Law, and think when that is satisfied they have fully discharged their Duty; whereas there are infinite Obligations incumbent upon a Man, which no human Law ever binds upon him.

* *He that is honest only in the Eye of the Law, hath but a very slender Sort of Innocence to boast; for the Measure of our Duty is of a much larger Extent than the Law can pretend to.* “ There are infinite Cases “ unforeseen, sudden Emergencies and extraordinary Conjunctions, the Occasions and Circumstances “ whereof are too many and too intricate, for any “ human Wisdom to foresee, and much more impossible for it to make any competent Provision “ for; so that a Man must often be left to his own “ Judgment and Discretion; and even where he is “ not, a good Man will sometimes think the Rule “ too narrow, and disdain to confine or cramp up “ his Virtue within the Compass of that, which “ was thought necessary to be imposed upon every common Man”. And as this invisible Fountain within is more exuberant and plenteous, so is it more lively, and pure, and strong, than any of those Streams derived from it. Of which we need but this single Testimony; That whenever any Disputes arise about the Interpretation and right Execution of a positive Law, the constant and best Method of understanding the Equity and true Intent of it, is by running it back to its first Head, and observing what is most agreeable to the Law

* Quàm angusta Innocentia ad Legem bonum esse; latius Officiorum quàm Juris præstat Regula.

Book. II



of Nature in the Case: This is the Test and Touch, this the Level and the Truth, by which all the rest are to be judged. For, as we commonly say, * *Reason is the Soul and Life of the Law*; here we find Things clear and limpid in their Source, which when drawn out into Rivulets, grow foul and sully'd by all that Faction, and Interest, Ambition, and serving of Parties, which corrupt all human Sanctions and Establishments.

And thus I have describ'd to you a real, substantial, radical, fundamental Honesty; born with us, rooted in us, springing from the Seed of universal Reason. This in the Soul, is like the Spring and Balance in a Clock, it regulates all its Motions; like the natural Warmth in the Body, which sustains and preserves itself, and is both its own Strength and Safety, and the Person's to whom it belongs. The Man that proceeds according to this, acts in Conformity to the Will of God, in Consistence and Agreement with himself, in Compliance with Nature, and Obedience to those Rules upon which all Government and civil Constitutions are founded; he proceeds smoothly, gently, silently; his Virtue draws little Observation perhaps, as it makes no Noise, but slides on and keeps its Course, like a Boat carried down by the Course of the Water in a calm Day: Whereas all other Sorts of Virtue are the Products of Art and Accident, grafted into us by Discipline, and not of our own natural Growth, fickle and out of Temper, like the intermitting Heat and Cold of a Fever; they are acquired at first, and drawn out into Exercise af-

* Anima Legis Ratio.

terwards,

terwards, by Chance and Occasion, practised upon Chap. 3.
foreign and distant Considerations; acting by sudden Starts and short Spurts, with Clamour and Noise, with Hurry and Clutter, Ostentation and Vainglory.

And from hence we are led to the true Meaning 7.
of all those glorious Things, which Philosophers and wise Men in all Ages have said of Nature: For what Doctrines are more common in the Mouths of every one of them than these? * *That the Way for a Man to live well, is to live agreeably to Nature; That a perfect Conformity with Nature is the supreme Good, the most exquisite Happiness Mankind are capable of; That if we make Nature our Mistress and Guide, and constantly follow the Directions she gives, we shall never go amiss.* By all which it is plain, that Nature is set to signify that universal Reason and Equity, which is given for a Light to our Minds; and is both of that vast Comprehension, as to contain under it the Seeds of all kind of Virtue, Probity, and Justice; the common Parent, that gives birth to all wholesome and good Laws, all just and equitable Judgments that ever were or will be given; and also of that Clearness and Perspicuity too, that Men of the meanest Capacity and Attainments might determine themselves, and be conducted by it. Whatever scandalous or disparaging Reflections some may asperse Nature with, or how great a Part of them soever this corrupted State of it may deserve, yet there is no Doubt to be made, if we look back to their Original and primitive Constitution, but all things were created

* *Naturam si sequaris ducem, nusquam aberrabis. Bonum est quod secundum Naturam. Omnia Vitia contra Naturam sunt.*

Book II.

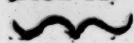
and disposed in the best Order and Condition they were capable of; and had their first Motions toward Good infused and interwoven with their Being, and strong Tendencies to the End they ought to aspire after. This was the Work and Wisdom of Nature; and from hence it is, that no Man who follows and obeys her Dictates, can ever fail of obtaining and enjoying the End and true Happiness proper to his Species. For after all, Men are naturally and originally good; and when they follow Evil they forsake Nature, and are seduced by the false Allurements of Profit or of Pleasure: And because these are the two governing Motives, and such as will be sure to bear a powerful Sway in the World, therefore the Makers of Laws have always found it necessary to propose two contrary Objects, that is, Reward and Punishment, to the Persons whose Obedience they would engage. And the Design of these is by no means to put a Violence upon their Wills, and so constrain them to act against natural Inclination, as some weakly imagine; but it is in truth, to * reduce them to better Sense, and bring them back to that, which is not only the best, but was the first and most natural Inclination of their Minds, till perverted by wicked and deceitful Appearances of counterfeit Good.

8. Nature without all Controversy is a sufficient Guide, a gentle Mistress, capable of instructing every one of us in all the Branches of our Duty, provided we would but be as careful to hearken to its Admonitions, to exert, and keep it awake and

* Sapiencia est in Naturam converti; & ea restitui unde publicus Error expulerit. Ab illâ non decerrare, ad illius Legem Exemplumque formari sapientia est.

active. There is no need for us to beg or to borrow from Art and Learning, those Means, and Remedies, and Rules which are necessary for the good Government of our selves; for each of us can subsist and live by himself, his own proper Stock is sufficient to maintain him. A happy and a contented Life is indeed what every one does and should aim at; but these are Blessings by no means entail'd upon Learning, or Parts, or Greatness, or Honour; a Man may attain them, and never see the Face of a Court or a City. There is a Proportion common and natural to all, which is enough for this purpose; and all beyond that, however valuable, as additional Advantages, are yet by no means necessary; we can do very well without them; and which is worse, we are so far from doing very well upon their account, that they do but increase our Troubles and our Difficulties, and do us more Hurt than Good. How many plain, and ignorant, and mean Men do we see, that live with more sensible Pleasure and Satisfaction, more sedate and undisturbed both in their Minds and Fortunes, and upon Occasion can meet and encounter Poverty and Pain, Danger or Death, with a better Grace and greater Composure, than the most learned and celebrated Philosophers? And if one take the pains to observe it nicely, you will find more frequent Instances, more eminent Patterns of Patience, and Constancy, and Evenness of Temper, among plain Country People, and those of mean Condition, than all the Schools can boast of. These are simple and unaffected, they go on where Nature leads, are influenced by the Reasons she suggests and the Impressions she makes, with-

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out creating new and imaginary Troubles. They feel no more than is to be felt, and use no Art and Industry to torment themselves; their Passions are low, and quiet, and smooth, in comparison of theirs who take pains to ruffle them, and esteem it a Piece of Bravery to indulge and blow them up; and so they go on in all their Affairs more calmly and considerately, without Heat or Disorder; whereas others look big and bluster, do every thing with Pomp and Hurry, are in perpetual Agitation and Alarm, and keep themselves and all Mankind awake. One of the greatest Masters and most exquisite Improvers of Nature was *Socrates*, as *Aristotle* was proportionably eminent for Art and Learning. Each of these in their respective Province was wonderful; but it is observable, that *Socrates* took a plain and natural Way, insinuated himself by vulgar Arguments, familiar Similitudes, an easy Stile; and by talking as a downright Country Fellow or a good discreet Woman would have done, did not only suit himself better to the Capacities of Men, but laid down such useful Precepts and Rules of a virtuous Life, such powerful Antidotes against all manner of Sufferings and Accidents, that the Strength and Vigor of them was never yet improved, nor the Success exceeded shall I say? no not so much as match'd, or any thing like it invented by all the Study and acquired Learning in the World.

9. But alas! we are so far from trusting to the Guidance of Nature, that we never so much as give it the Hearing. The Violence put upon it, and the intractable Temper of Vice and Extravagance, of unruly Appetites, perverse Dispositions, and

and depraved Wills, which are eternally striving to choak and suppress, nay quite to deface and utterly to extinguish, as much as in them lies, the Light within; that mortify and kill the very Seeds of Virtue, these are too gross to come within the present Account. My Complaint is, that whereas the concurrent Advice of all wise Men hath been to follow Nature, the Generality of Mankind run away from it. We let it sleep and rust upon our Hands, play Truant while we may learn at home; and chuse to beg our Improvement abroad, to have recourse to Study and Art, which are comparatively sordid and despicable Ways of attaining Knowledge, rather than content our selves with an independent and noble Wisdom, which is generous, and of our own Growth. We have all of us a busy turbulent Spirit, that affects to be ever managing and governing, and will have a Hand in every thing; this is variable and humourfome, perpetually bustling and restless, fond of Novelty and Disguise; inventing, adding, altering; never pleased long with the same thing, nor ever content with pure Nature and unaffected Simplicity, but a Contemner and Vilifier of Plainness, as if it were not possible for any thing to be good, which is void of Art, and Cunning, and nice Contrivance. * *Thus Virtue which is genuine, instead of the Frankness and Openness peculiar to it, is corrupted and changed into dark and crafty Speculation.* And besides all this, one Fault more we are tainted with; which is, the Disesteem of every thing in general, which is the Product of our own Soil; what we

* Simplex illa & aperta Virtus in obscuram & solertem Scientiam versa est.

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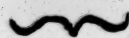
can have for nothing is worth nothing; it must be far fetch'd and dear bought to recommend it: Foreign Things only can please, and in Agreement with this Whimsy it is, that we prefer Art before Nature; which is in effect, to shut out the Sun when shining in its Strength, and to light up Candles at Mid-day. All which Follies and extravagant Humours are owing to one more, which is a Weakness in a manner entailed upon the whole World; that, I mean, of estimating Things, not according to their real and intrinsick Value, but only according to the Shew, and Figure, and Noise they make; which is to renounce our own Judgment and Experience, and in effect to give our selves up to be determined by the common Opinion of those, who are least qualified to know or judge at all.

Nor does this Folly stop here, but we proceed to yet higher Degrees of Insolence; we even trample Nature under Foot, disdain, despise, and are perfectly ashamed of it; are nice in positive and national Laws, and disregard those that are natural and universal. Nay, for the sake of bringing Ceremony and Form into Reputation, (which is a most horrible Indignity, and very contemptuous Treatment) we cancel and condemn a Law of God's making, to advance Laws of Civility and good Manners of our own forging. Thus Art carries away Nature, the Shadow is of greater Consideration with us than the Body, and the Air and Face of Things, than the Solidity and Substance. We take great Care to cover and conceal some Things that are natural, that we may not give Offence; we blush at the very Sound of some Words

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in Modesty and good Breeding, and yet we are under no Fears, no Restraint of doing Things unlawful and unnatural. To keep us at as great a Distance from some Sorts of Sins as is possible, we are not allowed so much as to name the Parts employ'd in them; and yet after all this scrupulous Shyness, how many are there who never boggle in the least at abandoning themselves to all manner of Debauchery and Lasciviousness? It was an old Complaint of the *Stoicks*, that though some very natural and innocent Actions of Life were industriously concealed, yet many others were named without a Blush, which yet were in their own Nature wicked and abominable, and what both Nature and Reason detest; such as Perjury, Treachery, Lying, Murder, and the like. We may improve the Complaint by adding, that in our Days Men pretend to more Nicety in Conversation; but these really wicked Things, they do not only mention without Shame, but act without Fear. Nay, even in Treasons and Assassinations those blackest of all Villains make Pretensions to Ceremony, and think themselves obliged to murder in Point of Honour and Duty, and when this is done, that it be done with some sort of Decency. Prodigious Impudence and Folly! That Injustice should complain of Incivility, and Malice think itself wrong'd by Indiscretion. Does not the Art of Ceremony then plainly prevail over Nature, and shew that its Influence is much stronger upon corrupt Mankind? Ceremony forbids us to express some Things which Nature allows and justifies, and we submit contentedly; Nature and Reason would restrain us from wicked and mischievous Actions, and nobody obeys

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obeys or at all regards them. This is manifestly to prostitute our Consciences, and abandon all Distinctions, all common Sense of Good and Evil; and yet at the same time think our selves obliged to put on a modest Face, and look grave and demure. As if it mattered not what we are within, so nothing appear amiss in our Countenance; and the setting our Looks in Form, were of more Consequence than the Innocence of our Souls. This Hypothesis is most monstrous and absurd, and Nature cannot furnish us with an Incongruity like it, in all the Creatures that ever God made. My Meaning is not here, what some may maliciously represent it, to find fault with that Decency and Ceremony, which gives an Ornament and Beauty to our Actions, and ought therefore to be strictly regarded. But my Complaint is like that of our Saviour to the *Pharisees, Ye Hypocrites, ye make*
 Mat. xxiii. *clean the outside of the cup and platter; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.*

10.

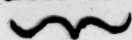
One very sad Effect of this so general Alteration and Corruption of our first Notions and Principles is, that we are now come to that miserable Pass, as to have no Footsteps of pure Nature left discernible among us. Insomuch that we are wonderfully perplexed and at a loss, what, and how many those Laws are, which she prescribes to us. The peculiar Character by which the Law of Nature used to be distinguished from all others, is that of universal Approbation and Consent. For it must needs be supposed, that what this common Mother and Mistress of us all had really enacted and appointed for our Rule, would be readily obeyed by all her Children; that in this there would
 be,

be, as it were, one Heart and one Soul; and not only every Nation and Country, but every private Man would come in, and live in perfect Agreement with it. Chap. 3.

Now, if we come to examine Matter of Fact in this Case, we shall scarce find any one Thing in the World, which is not somewhere or other disapproved and contradicted, not by a few particular Persons only, nor by one single Nation, but in several entire Countries: And on the other hand, there is not any thing in our Apprehension so prodigious and unnatural, but some Countries have entertained it, and given it not only the Countenance of a favourable Opinion, but the Authority of Custom and common Practice too. Neglect of increasing their Families, and Indifference in Point of Posterity; the murdering of their own Parents, of their own Children, nay of their own selves; Marrying with the nearest Relations; Pilfering and Stealing; Commerce and publick Societies of Robbers; publick Bartering away one's Liberty; Selling and Letting out their Bodies, and that in Persons of both Sexes: These are Things in the Opinion of most People very monstrous and detestable; and yet there are several Nations which do not only connive at and allow, but use them so, as to make them the Custom of the Country.

What course then can we take, or which way shall we turn our selves to find out Nature and its Original Institutions? 'Tis plain, our own Species have little Signs of it left; and if there be any Impressions of this kind still unworn out, we must expect to meet with them only in Brutes, who want

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want the Mercury we have, and so have not debauch'd and corrupted their primitive Constitution, by a troublesome and restless Spirit, by the pretended Improvements of Art, nor the real Fopperies of Ceremony. All which we have indulged to so extravagant a Degree, that there is some reason to suspect, whether even Beasts are altogether so sound as they should be in this Point; and if the keeping so ill Company as Mankind have not in some degrees drawn upon them the Infection of our Follies. The rest of the Creation however follow Nature entirely; they are content to stick and abide by that First and Universal Order, and Rule, which the Great Author and Governor of all, thought fit to establish and appoint. Man is the only factious and discontented Creature; he breaks in upon the Condition and good Government of the World; and while he professes to mend and polish what Nature hath prescribed, he confounds all with his Freedom of Will, and Gallantry of Spirit; ceases to be regular, upon pretence of being more refined; and destroys Nature, while he goes about to exalt and add to it.

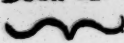
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In a word then, true Honesty and Integrity, that which is the very Foundation and Support of Wisdom, consists in following Nature, that is to say, acting in agreement with right Reason. The Happiness, the Aim, the End, that wherein all the Ease, the Liberty, the Contentment of the Mind is comprised; and to be short, the utmost Perfection we are capable of in this World, is to govern our Lives and Actions by the Rules which Nature hath set us; and keeping the Order of our Creation. And that Order consists in this, that
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the meaner and more gross Appetites should be kept in due Subjection, and that which is the most excellent part of our Nature, should controul and bear sway. That is, when Reason governs Sense, and Truth is preferred before false and empty Appearances. And as the Needle, when touch'd with the Load-stone, rests at no Point but the *North*; and by fixing there becomes a Guide to Sailors in their Course: So Man is never in his due Position, when his eyes are not fixed upon this Primitive, this Divine, this Universal Law of Human Nature. For that is the proper Compass, to direct his Inclinations and Opinions by; and all the other helps he enjoys, are but so many fresh Lamps kindled at this Original Light.

Now although this be a Power from which no Man is excluded, yet I cannot but acknowledge, that the putting it in practice, and bringing the Endeavours of this kind to good effect, is not in every Man's power equally. Some do it with much greater Ease and Success than others. There are a sort of Persons, who seem to be made for Virtue; their Complexion and whole Constitution disposes and fits them for it. Their Tempers are so well mixed, so naturally sweet and gentle, that they feel in themselves a strong Inclination, and an Original Propensity to Goodness and Integrity, without any pains to bend their Affections by Art, or to subdue and correct them by Discipline and Study. This happy Frame of Mind is what I conceive to be principally owing to the first Formation of the Parts; the Proportions and Composition of the Spirits and Humours; and afterwards, to the proper and kindly Nourishment of a good Milk,

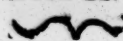
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 Milk, and the Care and Management of their Infancy and first Beginnings of Education. And those who are thus inclined to follow and comply with Nature and Reason, who bear a secret Reverence to its Dictates, and find little or no difficulty in submitting, are the Persons properly meant, when we speak of the Happiness of good-temper'd Men; and such as we say, Nature hath been kind, or partial to. This natural and spontaneous Honesty now, which comes as it were into the World with us, is properly called good Disposition, the Quality of a Soul and Body well put together, and of Humours duly moderated; It is a Sweetness, Easiness, and Gentleness of Temper. By which I would not be so mistaken, as to be thought to make no difference between this, and a Softness, which is indeed an effeminate, sottish, unconcerned, and vitious Easiness of Mind; which is managed and led by the Nose; hath no Courage, no choice of its own; strives to carry fair, and become agreeable to every Body, and above all things declines giving Offence to any; that will not do an Act of Virtue and Justice, if it be likely to displease; nor dares refuse the wickedest and most unbecoming Compliances, when the Favour and Opinion of Men lie at stake: These Persons have no regard in the Earth for Equity or Reason, the Merits of the Cause, or the Service of the Publick; but all their Considerations are fixed upon the Consequences, as to their own private Interest, and they look no farther than who is like to be obliged or disobliged by what they do. It is of such wretched, poor-spirited, complaisant Persons that you hear People frequently give that false and most

most unjust Commendation; Oh he is a wonderful good Man! for he is kind even to the worst and wickedest Men; whereas indeed this Charge is much more deserved and true of them; that such a Man cannot be a Good Man, because he is not severe to Ill Men, but encourages their Villany by his Mildness, and false shew of good Nature. Such a Goodness as this is, should rather be called *Harmlessness*, for it is just like that Quality of little Children, and Sheep, and such other Beasts as we commonly call poor, innocent, simple Creatures. But the true Sincerity and Honesty I am speaking of, hath a very different Character; it is a masculine, brave, vigorous, and active Goodness of Mind; a strong constant Affection, an easy, ready Inclination, by which the Soul embraces, and stands always bent to that which is consonant to Reason and Nature; and Nature in this Sense is but another word for Goodness, and Equity, and Justice.

Again: There are many Instances, on the other hand, of Persons so cross and ill contrived, that one would be tempted to think them Monsters in Human Form. They have a Disposition singular and by themselves, so very rough and unmanagable, as if some evil Genius had shuffl'd them up together, in perfect Contradiction, and despite of Nature. In such Circumstances there is great difficulty; This vicious Disposition must be cured and corrected; the Harshness of it sweetned; its wild and brutish Roughness tamed and made gentle; its crooked, and stiff, and irregular Humours bended and bowed down, and made flexible and complying with the streight Rule and Plan of Uni-

Book II.



versal Nature; which is the true Level and Standard Men should bring themselves to. And the properest Remedy for effecting this Cure is for such People to betake themselves to the Study of Philosophy (as *Socrates* did) and to the serious and resolute Practice of severe Virtue; which is a constant Combat with Perverseness of Temper; a painful and vigorous Conflict with all manner of Vice; a laborious Study and Exercise of the Mind, that requires a great deal of Time and Toil, indefatigable Diligence, and strict Discipline. *Virtue is attended with Hardship, and employed upon a subject, that can never be easy; Labour and Sweat watch perpetually at the Gate of Virtue, and no Entrance is to be attained but by their means,* say some of the Antients to this purpose. And again: *The Gods have set a high price upon Virtue, and sold it dear to Mankind, at the Expence of great Labour and Trouble.* Now the End of all this Severity and Pains, which I propose to Men of this unkindly Composition, is not to graft in a fresh Fruit upon the Crab-stock, not to introduce, I mean, a new, foreign, or artificial Honesty, and consequently such a one, as (according to the account already given of this matter) would at the best be but occasional and accidental only, and so far short of that substantial and perfect Integrity I am aiming at: But the Design and Effect of this Study must be to clear the Rust and Rubbish, to take away Obstructions, not to create, but to awaken the Powers of Nature; to snuff and trim this Lamp within, which is foul, and burns dim; and to quicken all those original Seeds of Goodness, that have been long kept down, and almost quite choak-

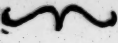
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ked and killed, either by any vicious Habit in particular, or by some personal Indisposition, and natural Defect. For the Eyes of the Mind are like those of the Body; the visive Faculty is form'd with them, and inherent from the Beginning; and therefore the way of helping the Sight, is not to add any thing new, but to remove the Films that grow over the Pupil; as a Man wipes away the Dust from a Looking-Glass, to make the Reflexion clear and strong. Chap. 3.

From this Representation of the Case we may perceive, that True Integrity may be distinguish'd into two sorts; The One natural, easy, gentle, and even, which is properly called a Good Temper; The Other is acquired, full of difficulty, attained by labour and much pain, and this is termed Virtue; to both which we may add a Third, which is a kind of Compound of the Two former, and so there will be three Degrees of Perfection in the Case before us. The First and Lowest is an Easiness of Temper, a Mind so well disposed, as to have naturally and of its own accord, a disrelish and aversion to all manner of Extravagance and Vice; and this we may call Goodness, or Innocence. The Second and next Stage, which we call Virtue, consists in the Art and Labour of prevention, setting it self with all its Force and Vigor, to guard the Avenues, to hinder the Advances of Vice, and check the very first Motions of the Passions, when they grow mutinous; and if the Insurrection be actually begun, to muster and arm all a Man's Forces to stop, and quell, and reduce them. The Third and Highest Degree of all is a mixture of Noble Resolution, and a Happy

Y y 2 Temper;

Book. II.


 Temper; so that the Man from both these met together, is so excellently well disposed, as not only to continue impregnable, but to be free even from Attacks. Not so much as a Temptation rises to give him Trouble; the very Seeds of Vice are quite rooted out. Virtue is the only, the natural Growth of this prosperous Soil, and becomes not the Habit, so much as the Complexion and Constitution of the Man. This Last may justly be stiled Perfection; This and the First kind do thus far resemble one another, and are both very differing from the Second; That they are silent and still, without difficulty, and without struggle, the natural Air, and constant Course of the Man, a cheap and easy Virtue, that costs him little or nothing; whereas the Second is a perpetual Conflict, and dwells in the midst of Hurry, and Alarms, and Battels. The last and most perfect of these Degrees, is acquir'd by a long and painful Study, a serious and constant Exercise of the Rules of Philosophy, added to a Good, and Generous, and Noble Nature, largely and liberally furnished; and a Mind enriched with all manner of good Dispositions. For in this Case Both must concur; Nature and Industry must each do their part; and it cannot be entirely the Work of one of these, not all infused, nor all acquired. This is the End which all the old Philosophers proposed to their Studies; but above all the rest, the *Stoick* and *Epicurean* Sect (I make no Scruple of saying the latter did it as well as the former, though this, I confess, might seem strange, had we not the Testimony of *Seneca*, and several other ancient Writers in Confirmation of it.) These gallant Men look'd upon Dis-
grace

grace and Contempt, Want and Sicknefs, Pains Chap. 3.
and Tortures, nay even Death itſelf, to be Toys
and Trifles, fit for none but Fools and Children to
be anxious or concerned about. They did not on-
ly deſpiſe them, and endue them with Patience and
Conſtancy, and gain an abſolute Conqueſt over all
the Troubles and Difficulties of them whenever
they made the Affault; but they went out into the
Field, they fought and provoked them, rejoiced in,
as well as triumphed over them. They look'd up-
on theſe Encounters as neceſſary Breathings for
their Virtue, to keep it in Exerciſe and Vigor; and
by the Frequency of ſuch Engagements, did not
only ſecure and eſtabliſh that Virtue, and render it
firm, and ſteady, and ſevere, (as *Cato* and ſome o-
ther renowned Stoicks, for inſtance, did) but even
chearful and gay; and if that be not an improper
Expreſſion, wanton and full of Play, by the per-
fect Maſtery they had got over all external Acci-
dents and Things.

Upon the ſtating of the whole Caſe, and com-
paring theſe three together, ſome who have but
imperfect Apprehenſions of the noble Height and
true Excellence of the third Degree, have been in-
clined to think that the ſecond was the moſt ho-
nourable, and to be valued above either of the reſt,
by reaſon of the Difficulties and Dangers it con-
tends with, and the many painful and laborious
Struggles the Attainment of it coſts. And, as *Me-
tellus* ſaid, that the doing Evil was a deſpicable
Thing, becauſe it was the Effect of Cowardice
and Lazineſs; ſo the doing well, where it is with-
out the Expence of Trouble and Hazard, is look'd
upon by theſe Perſons as too vulgar and cheap a

Book II.

Thing; but the attempting and going thro' with it, in despite of Hazards and troublesome Oppositions, and where these attack us in great Number, and labour hard to obstruct and deter us from our Duty; this is the Commendation of a good and a virtuous Person indeed. * *Whatever is excellent is difficult*, was, we know, the usual Saying of the noblest Philosopher. But to deal plainly and speak the Truth of the Matter, the Difficulty of obtaining any thing does by no means alter the Nature, or add to the real and intrinsic Value of the Thing itself; nor is it, as I have taken Occasion formerly to observe, any just and warrantable Cause for raising it in our Esteem. Nay, it is beyond all Controversy certain on the other Side, that natural Excellencies are much more desirable, and better than those that are studied and acquired. That it is much more brave, and great, and divine, to act by the Motions and spontaneous Perfections of Nature, than with the most exquisite Dexterity and nicest Improvements of Art; in an easy, free, equal, and uniform Manner, than with laborious Efforts, Uncertainty, and with Doubt, and Danger, and Perplexity of Thought. It is in the former of these two Senses that we term Almighty God Good, his Excellencies are his Nature, essential to him; and if they could cease, he must cease to be. And therefore to call not him only, but even the blessed Angels and the Spirits of just Men made perfect, virtuous; is a Diminution and Disparagement to them. Theirs is properly Goodness too, but Virtue is a Title too low

* Difficilia quæ pulchra. *χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ.* PLATO.

for the Happiness of unfinning Perfection, a State of Indefectibility, and above the Reach of all Temptation. 'Tis true indeed, in the Condition we now live, where Dangers surround and threaten, and Frailties betray us perpetually, Virtue makes somewhat of Noise and Clutter, and is forced to act with some Vehemence; and this gives it the Preference before smooth and still Goodness. For the Generality of People always measure the Excellence of a Thing by the Shew and the Difficulty, and admire that most which costs dearest; but this is a false Method of judging, and we are not much to wonder if they are wrong here, who indeed are generally so in all their Estimations of Men and Things. For these great swelling Performances, that look so big, and seem to be all Zeal and Fire, are not substantial nor to the purpose; They are no Parts of true Honesty, nor the Products of that fixed Principle we are speaking of; but rather intemperate Heats and Feverish Fits, very different from that Wisdom we are now in quest of, which is healthful and moderate, gentle and calm, equal and uniform.

Thus much may suffice to be said of Honesty or Sincerity in general; for as to the several Parts of it, and the particular Duties resulting from thence, they will come under our Consideration in the Third Book, and particularly, when we shall treat of the Virtue of Justice.

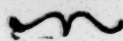
And here I find my self under an Obligation of discharging my Promise, in the necessary Addition of what follows in this Paragraph. To silence (if it be possible) the unjust Malice and disadvantageous Character cast upon me by some who find

Book II. fault with my (as they think them) extravagant
 Commendations of Nature, as if this were able to
 do every thing, and no other Assistances were re-
 quired. To these Persons it might suffice to reply,
 that by *Nature* I understand (as was observed be-
 fore) the God of Nature, and the Dictates of e-
 ternal Reason, written and engrav'd in every Heart
 by his Almighty Hand. I might also alledge, that
 the Subject of this Book is only natural and hu-
 man; and that the Author is not obliged by his
 Design to concern himself with any Virtues pro-
 perly divine, or the Advantages above the Power
 of Nature to confer. But waving all this, I rea-
 dily acknowledge, that to render the Virtue and
 Integrity I have been describing compleat, and give
 it all the Perfections it is capable of, one Thing
 more is necessary: The *Grace of God* I mean, which
 must animate and invigorate this Goodness and
 Probity, shew it in all its Lustre, give the finish-
 ing Stroke, refine and exalt it from a mere moral
 to a Christian Virtue. This renders it accepted at
 the Throne of Heaven, approved of God, capa-
 ble of an eternal Recompence; and so crowns it
 both with Perfection here, and a Reward hereaf-
 ter. It is not easy to find apposite Resemblances
 for Things which cannot present themselves to us
 by any sensible Ideas: But if you will pardon the
 Meanness of the Comparison, I should almost ven-
 ture to compare the Probity here insisted on, to a
 skilful Master who touches the Keys of an Organ
 with absolute Accuracy and Art, but all to no pur-
 pose; the Instrument is dumb, till the Wind ex-
 press the Excellence of his Hand, by giving Sound
 to the Instrument, and making that Melody which
 all

all his Mastery in playing was not able to do without it. Thus moral Virtue is but a Sort of speculative Perfection, till the Grace of God inspire, and enable us to put it in Practice, and produce the Fruits of it.

Now this is a Blessing which does not consist in refined Thoughts, nice Notions, and long or learned Discourses; it is not to be acquired by Rule, or the Methods of human Industry and Art, nor can we attain to it by our own Labour and Toil; the utmost we can do is to prepare, and endeavour to qualify our selves duly for the receiving it; for after all, receive it we must: It is a Gift that comes down from on High, and the very Name of *Grace* is designed to represent to us the Good-Will of the Donor, and that the Gift is entirely free. Our Part is to ask, to seek, to implore it, with all imaginable Humility, and the most fervent Desires we are capable of. To prostrate our selves before the Throne of Grace, and with the utmost Contrition of Heart and Voice to say, “ Vouchsafe, O
“ my God, in thy infinite Goodness to look down
“ with an Eye of Mercy and Pity upon thy poor
“ Servant; accept and grant my Desires, assist my
“ weak Endeavours, and crown those good Inclinations, which are originally derived from thee:
“ The Law by which I stand obliged, the Light
“ by which I am instructed in my Duty, are of
“ thy Ordering; thou hast stamped our Nature
“ with these Impressions of Good and Evil, and
“ shined in our Hearts by thy Precepts; O give
“ Success to thy own Institution, and finish the
“ Work thou hast begun; that so the Glory and
“ the Fruit may redound to the Planter’s Use, and
“ thou

Book II.



“ thou may’st be first and last in all my Actions and
 “ Designs, my Thoughts and my Desires. Wa-
 “ ter me abundantly with thy Grace, and take me
 “ for thy own, that I, who am of my self mise-
 “ rable, and poor, and naked, and blind, and weak,
 “ may be able to do even all things, thro’ Christ
 “ who strengtheneth me.”

These are proper Addresses upon such an Occa-
 sion; but the properest and most probable Method
 to obtain them, that is, to incline the Compassion
 of God, and dispose him to gratify such Desires,
 will be strict moral Honesty, and a conscientious
 Observation of the Law of Nature to the best of
 our Power. For this, though it be not an abso-
 lutely meritorious Cause, is yet a conditional one,
 and a good Preparation for the receiving superna-
 tural Assistances; as Matter ready disposed is cloath-
 ed with the Form, and the vegetative and sensitive
 Soul derived from our Parents, lead the Way, and
 put all things in Readiness for the Accession of the
 rational and intellectual one, which proceeds from
 God. Thus human Wisdom is the Introduction
 to divine Philosophy, the Handmaid to Religion,
 the natural and moral Duties of a Man subservient
 and instrumental to the Liberty of a Christian, the
 Light and Favour of the Children of God. He
 who does his best in the Matters of Reason and Mo-
 rality, gives God an Occasion of exercising his
 Bounty, and bestowing larger and nobler Virtues
 upon him. It being an equitable Method, and
 such as our Blessed Saviour assures us God himself
 proceeds by, to trust that Man with more and
 greater Talents, who hath approved himself dili-
 gent and faithful in the good Management of less.

To

To this purpose are all those holy Aphorisms. *Thou* Chap. 3.
hast been faithful in a very little, be thou ruler over
much. God giveth the Holy Spirit to all them that
ask him. To him that hath shall be given, and he shall
have abundance. God denies no Man Grace who does
his utmost. God is wanting to no Man in necessary
Supplies : And the like.

On the other hand, To live in Contradiction and Defiance to Mens natural Light, is to put one's self out of all Capacity of God's Favour, and, as much as in us lies, to make it impossible for Grace to be given us. Since he who gives it hath expressly declared upon what Conditions Men are allowed to expect it; and if he exceeds those Measures, and bestows it upon Persons wholly unqualified, this is beside the common Method, and an excepted Case from his regular Dispensations. This Obstinacy and Perverseness is expressly mentioned, as the Reason why our Saviour refused to preach in some particular Places; and, since the Evangelists, St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and other of the Fathers have largely discoursed upon that Matter to this purpose.

By all which it appears evidently, that *Grace* and *Nature* are not contrary Principles; for (in the Sense I have all along used the Term in this Chapter) Grace is so far from forcing or destroying Nature, that it is a gentle and seasonable Relief to it; nay, it strengthens, and crowns, and perfects Nature. We must not therefore set these two in Opposition to each other, but join both together, and put on the one as the Ornament, the Fulness, and just Finishing of the other. Both proceed from God, though after different Manners; and therefore

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fore we must neither put them at variance, nor confound them for want of duly distinguishing them asunder; for each hath its proper Springs and peculiar Motions. They neither set out together, nor operate alike; though both came from the same Place, and lead to the same End at last.

Nature may be without Grace, and when duly followed hath its Commendation even then, in regard to those Circumstances which admitted of no more. Thus it was with the Philosophers and great Men heretofore, Persons whose Proficiency under this first and general Law, and their Attainments in all Sorts of moral Virtue, may be allowed to excite our Wonder, as well as challenge our Praise. Such likewise is the Case of all Infidels at this Day; because the Grace we speak of is a Gospel-Blessing, and they who are not under the Evangelical Covenant, have no Title to it. But Grace cannot be without Nature, because this is the Matter for it to work upon; for the Business of Grace is to reform and perfect; and therefore this as necessarily supposes Nature, as the raising of a Roof supposes a Foundation to be laid, and Walls already carried up. The Organist may exercise his Fingers, 'tis true, upon the dumb Keys, and shake his Hand; but the Harmony must come from the Breath; or if it could sound, yet would it be but like St. Paul's tinkling Cymbal, of no Worth or Significancy at all: But all the Air in the World will never make Musick of the Instrument, without a Hand to strike the Keys. In this I have been the more particular, and descended to familiar Comparisons, because some, I find, have suffer'd themselves to be led into very-gross Mistakes upon the Matter.

Matter. Persons, who have never conceived a right and worthy Notion of that true Probity and entirely honest Principle we have been recommending; but are blown up with strange romantick Conceits of Grace, which they doubt not to attain and practise eminently well, without any Regard to Morality; and by a Scheme of *Pharisaical* Accomplishments, some easy, lazy, formal Performances, which carry a great Appearance of Sanctity to the World; but as for the real Substance, and inward Power of Goodness and Integrity, they give themselves no Trouble at all about it. I see great store of these Men in the World every Day; but alas! I can find but very few such as *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Cato*, *Regulus*, *Socrates*; no *Epaminondas*'s, no *Scipio*'s, no strict and conscientious Professors, I mean, of stanch and solid Virtue, and philosophical, or, if you please, common Justice and downright moral Honesty. The Reproaches and Complaints so liberally bestowed by our Saviour upon the *Pharisees* and Hypocrites, will never be out of Season, for the Persons obnoxious to these always abound; and even those who set up for the great Censors of Manners, the zealous Railers at Vice, and grave Reformers of the World, are not all exempt from this Charge themselves. But enough of this. I have spoken largely of the Virtue itself; now before I close this Chapter, I must take leave to add one Word concerning the Disposition of Mind contrary to it.

Now Wickedness (or evil Practices and Temper) is against Nature, it is deformed, odious, and offensive; all that can judge and discern must needs detest and loath it; which gave occasion for some

17.
Wicked-
ness.

Book II.

to say, That it is a monstrous Birth, the Product of Brutality and Ignorance. It does not only provoke the Dislike and Aversion of others, but raises the Indignation of a Man's own Mind who is guilty of it; Repentance and Self-Condernnation are its certain Consequences. It gnaws, and corrodes, and frets the Soul, like an Ulcer in the Flesh; makes one restless and uneasy, out of countenance and out of conceit with himself; and is ever busy in contriving and inflicting fresh Torments, as if it were ordained to be its own Executioner. Hence those Observations;

** None quits himself; his own impartial Thought
Will damn, and Conscience will record the Fault.*

And again,

*Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell itself can find
A fiercer Torment than a guilty Mind.*

Hence † *Wickedness is said to drink the greatest Part of its own Poison; the Bitterness and the Dregs fall to its own Share. Evil Counsel turns most to the Prejudice of the Person that gives it. As the Wasp, though she may hurt and occasion some Smart to the Person stung by her, yet does itself the greatest Harm; and suffers more by the Loss*

** ——— Prima est hæc ultio, quod se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur. J u v. Sat. xiii.*

*Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sævior illis
Quas aut Cæditius gravis invenit, aut Rhadamanthus,
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem. Ibid.*

† *Malitia ipsa maximam partem veneni sui bibit: Malum consilium consultori pessimum.*

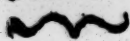
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of its Sting, and being disabled for ever after. It ^{Chap 3.} is true, Vice is attended with some Pleasure; for were there not this to recommend it, Wickedness would never find any Entertainment in the World. No Man ever was, or can be vicious, merely for the Sake or Satisfaction of being so. But still, when we have allowed this Advantage of a short and sensible Satisfaction, yet we must not forget what follows, and how poor a Business this is, in comparison of that lasting Displeasure and Dissatisfaction it begets afterwards. So that, as *Plato* says truly, the Punishment constantly follows the Sin; or rather indeed, as *Hesiod* yet more nicely observes, they are Twin-Children, and come into the World together. Now the Case of Virtue is just the reverse of this; it gratifies and soothes us; leaves sweet and pleasing Remembrances behind; fills us with inward Complacencies, secret Congratulations of our own Happiness, and inexpressible Satisfaction, in having done what becomes us. This is the true Reward of a virtuous Mind, a Happiness inherent and essential to it. And the Applauses, and Joys, and Transports of a good Conscience, as they are sure to us, and cannot be withheld by any who envy our Virtue or our Fame; so they are likewise so large and full, so generous, and noble, and sufficient, as may very well encourage and satisfy us, during our Continuance in this present World.

That Vice is, above all things in the World, to be hated, abominated, and avoided, no body that I know of, ever pretended to dispute. But some question may be made, whether we are obliged to be so general and irreconcilable in our Hatred, that

18.
*Whether it
be ever al-
lowable to
do a fault.*

it



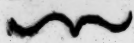
it should be impossible for any Pleasure or Advantage so desirable to offer itself, for the Prospect of which the committing of any Vice might not be allowable, at least excusable in us. Many People indeed are but too apt to think, that there are several such reserved Cases, wherein the common Rules of Morality may be very fairly dispensed with. And, if we allow the Advantage to be publick, the Writers of Politicks make no doubt of it, (provided the Proceedings be so qualified, as I shall have occasion to advise, when I come to treat of the Virtue of Prudence in point of Government.) But some have not been content to restrain this Liberty to the Necessities of State, but have enlarged its Bounds beyond their just Extent, and given the same Allowance to the private Pleasure and Profit of single Men. Now this is a thing not possible to be determined in favour of their Assertion, without the Case were stated in all its Circumstances, and both the Person, the Quality of the Fact, and the Nature of the Advantage proposed, particularly specified. But otherwise, while we treat of the Matter simply and abstractedly, it is a general Rule, not only in Religion, but in meer Morality too, That the Prospect of no Advantage or Pleasure whatsoever, will justify a Man in doing any thing ill in itself, or which is contrary to his Duty and Conscience.

19.
*Whether
all Sin be-
gets Re-
pentance.*

Again; It is past a Doubt, that Sin and Wick- edness hath it not in its Power to furnish out Plea- sures and Satisfactions so solid and agreeable, as Vir- tue and the Conscioufness of one's own Sincerity, is able and wont to do; nay, it is most certain, that Vices are their own Tormentors, and execute
severe

severe Vengeance upon the Authors. But yet this is not universally and in all Cases true; and therefore it is necessary to make some Distinction of Persons and Circumstances. Now Wickedness and wicked Men may be distributed into three Sorts. Some, *first*, are perfectly incorporated with Evil, they reason themselves into it; their Resolutions and the whole Bent of their Wills are fixed entirely in its Interests; or else long Custom hath got such a perfect Mastery over them, that they cannot disengage themselves. These miserable Wretches are utterly abandon'd; their very Understanding is vitiated, sees, consents to, and approves the Evil: And this usually is the Case, when Vice and Debauchery meets with a strong and vigorous Mind, and hath taken such deep root in it, that it comes at last to be naturalized and of a piece with it; all the Faculties are tinctured, it is corrupted throughout, and Vice so closely interwoven, as to become a Part of its Temper and Constitution. Others, *secondly*, have their Intervals of Folly only; they are wicked now and then, by fits, just as any violent Gush of a Temptation disturbs or puts them out of their Course, or some impetuous Passion drives them headlong upon the Rocks; so that these Men are surprized, and carried away forcibly by a Current too strong for them to stem. The *third* Sort are betwixt these two Extremes; they have a right Notion of Vice considered in itself; and when they reflect upon their Fault abstractedly, do severely accuse and condemn themselves for it; and thus they differ from the first Sort, who are advanced even to the desperate Degree of a good Liking of Wickedness: But then they have

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not the Violence or Surprize of Passions or Temptations to qualify and extenuate their Crime; and in this respect they differ from the second Sort too. But these Men go to work in cold Blood, and with great Deliberation; they weigh Circumstances and drive a Bargain as it were; observe well the Heinousness of the Sin, and then put the Pleasure or Profit it brings, into the contrary Scale; and thus they barter away their Souls, and are content to be wicked at a certain Price, and for such as they think a valuable Consideration. They lend themselves to the Devil, for so much Interest to be paid for the use of their Persons; and are so foolish to think, that there is a great deal to be said, in excuse for such a Commerce as this. Of this kind we may reckon Extortion, and Oppression, and Covetousness for Gain; and the Excesses and Debaucheries of Wine and Women for the sake of Pleasure; and indeed several other Sins committed upon occasions, though they be not reigning and habitual; such as Men think, and consult upon, and at last resolve wrong; where the Will is manifestly concerned, or where the Complexion of the Man is apt, against his Reason and better Sense, to determine him.

20.
These three
compared.

Now the first of these three sorts are past repenting by ordinary Means, and nothing less than an unusual, and almost miraculous Impression from Heaven can be supposed to reclaim them. For *they are* (as the Apostle expresses it) *past feeling*, and *commit* Evil even *with Greediness*. The Stings and Prickings of Wickedness are very sharp and piercing indeed, but these Mens Consciences are so tough and hardned, that nothing can enter them.

them. Besides, the Understanding, as was observed, is brought over to an Approbation of the thing; and so all Sense of Remorse must be lost, which proceeds chiefly from acting against our better Judgment; The Soul is entirely corrupted, the Distinctions of Good and Evil obliterated and worn away; and consequently the Will can be under no solicitude to restrain or refuse. The third sort of Men, though they may appear in some measure to repent, and condemn themselves, yet in reality, and properly speaking, they do not. Take the Fact by it self, as a Matter unlawful and unbecoming, and so they disallow it; but view it drest up in all its gay Attire, with all the Circumstances of Pleasure and Profit that recommend and set it off, and you shall find them of another Opinion. They think the Advantage of their Sin, a sufficient Compensation for the Guilt; and cannot be said to repent of that, which had the full and free Consent of their Reason and Conscience; and with which they are always ready to close, as often as it shall proffer it self upon the same Terms. So that in Truth the Second sort seem to be the only Persons, that are seriously concern'd to repent and reform. And since we are now upon the mention of Repentance, I shall take this opportunity to say one word upon that Subject.

Repentance is a Disposition, or rather an Act of the Will, whereby the Man disclaims, and so far as in him lies, undoes again what he has done before. It is a Grief and Sadness of Heart, but differing in this one respect from all other Pains and Passions of that kind, arising from external Causes.

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ses, that Reason begets and heightens this, where-
 as it mitigates and expels those. Repentance is
 wholly internal; the Ground and Foundation of
 it is from within, and upon that account it is more
 violent than any other: As the Cold of Agues and
 Heat of Fevers is more fierce and insupportable to
 the Patient, than any which is ever occasioned by
 Objects from without. Repentance is the Physick
 of the Soul, the Death of Vice, the only Health
 of wounded Consciences and Depraved Wills.
 But though all Mankind must agree in the excel-
 lent Effects and Commendations of the thing, yet
 many mistake it; and therefore good care should
 be taken to distinguish aright, and be perfectly in-
 formed in this matter. As First; There are some
 sorts of Sin, of which Men very hardly and sel-
 dom repent; as was observed just now concerning
 old inveterate Vices, such as Custom hath made in
 a manner natural and necessary, and the Corrupti-
 on of the Judgment hath given Authority to, by
 determining in their Favour. For while a Man
 continues under the power of such Habits, and
 the Blindness of such an erroneous Choice; the
 sense of his Mind is with him, and he feels no
 Check or Reluctancy at all; so that Repentance,
 which implies such Regret, is (usually speaking)
 terminated in accidental and occasional Miscarri-
 ages; the sudden and surprizing Faults, where
 there is not leisure for Deliberation to interpose: or
 the violent Sallies of Passion, where the Judgment
 is over-power'd, and under some Constraint to do
 amiss. Another sort of things there are, which a
 Man cannot be said with any Truth or Propriety
 of Speech to repent of; and those are, such as are
 out

out of a Man's own Power: At these indeed we may conceive a just Indignation, or be much concern'd, and extremely sorry for them; but we cannot be said to repent of them, because this implies not only Sorrow, but the blaming and condemning our selves, and failing in what we might have done better. Nor does that Displeasure of Mind deserve this Name, which proceeds from the Disappointment of our Expectations or Events contrary to our Wishes and Intentions. We laid, as we thought, a very wise Project, and had a very fair prospect of Success; but Matters have happen'd quite otherwise, than we imagin'd it likely or possible for them to do; and some unforeseen Accident steps in betwixt, and blasts the whole Design. Now pray, what is all this to the Matter in hand? or what ground can here possibly be for Repentance? The Design and the Method were well and justly contrived; every wise and good Man would have taken the same Course. You have done your Duty; but you have not succeeded in it. And is that any fault of yours? You advis'd well, and proceeded regularly; and this is the utmost Man can do. For we can neither command Events, nor have any positive Knowledge beforehand what they will be. The Uncertainty of the Issue is the Foundation of all Prudence and good Conduct; for were this fix'd and foreknown, no place could be left for Deliberation and Management; and therefore there is not a greater weakness, nor a more unreasonable pretence in the World, either for tormenting our selves, or entertaining meaner thoughts of others, than want of Success. Advice and Conduct are by no means

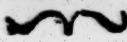
to be judg'd by the Event; for there is an unseen, and an unaccountable Providence, that directs all the Chances, that sometimes defeats the wisest, and prospers the weakest and most unpromising Counsels and Undertakings. Again; Repentance is not, as some fondly suppose, that Change of Mind which proceeds from old Age, Impotence, want of Opportunity, or want of Inclination, or any such Disrelish, as either Satiety and Excess, or a natural Alteration of Palate, brings upon us. For there is a mighty difference between forsaking Vice, and being forsaken of it; between denying our Appetites when they are keen and eager, and gratifying them by a pleasing Abstinence from what they are cloy'd with already. Besides, to like any thing the worse upon these accounts, is really a Corruption of, and a Reflection upon our Judgment. For the things are still the same; the same Approbation, or the same Dislike, was due to them heretofore, no less than now; all the Change is in our selves only, and that too is a Change in no degree voluntary or chosen, but purely necessary or accidental, the effect of Age or Sickness. We speak most improperly, when we say that a Man is grown wiser or better in such Cases; for all the Reformation that proceeds from Humour or Discontent, from Disrelish or Disability, is Fear and Phlegm, Coldness and Listlessness. There is oftentimes not the least of real Conviction, or any Principle of Conscience in it. And sure a feeble Body is a very unfit Conveyance to carry us to God, and drive us to Repentance and our Duty. For true Repentance is somewhat very different from all this; it is a particular Gift of God, by which

which we grow wise in good earnest; a Remorse,^{Chap. 3.} which checks our hottest Career, even in the midst of Sprightliness and Courage; and this is what must be created and cherished in us, not by the want of Opportunities, or of Power to use them, not by the Weakness of a Body broken and worn out, and grown unserviceable to Vice any longer; but by the Strength of Reason and Thought, and the better Consideration of a resolute and vigorous Mind. For nothing more argues Greatness of Soul, than the Correcting our former Follies, and Steadiness in a new Course of Life; notwithstanding all the Difficulties and Discouragements of an entire Reformation.

Now one Fruit of true Repentance, is a frank and conscientious Confession of one's Faults; this is usually the Sign, the Consequence, and in some Cases so necessary a Qualification, that all Professions of Penitence without it are hypocritical and vain. It is with the Mind in these Respects, as with our Bodies. For, as in Bodily Distempers there are two sorts of Remedies made use of, one, that make a perfect Cure, by going to the very Root, and removing the Cause of the Disease; another, which only sooth the Patient, consult his present Ease, and are properly termed Quieting Medicines; and, as in this case, that former Application is much more painful, but withal more powerful and effectual, and better for the Person than the latter: So likewise in the Wounds and Sickneses of the Soul, the true Remedy is of a searching and a cleansing Quality; and this is such an Acknowledgment of our Faults, as is full of Seriousness and Shame; a being content to take the Scandal and the Folly of them upon our

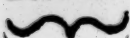
22.
Of confessing and excusing Faults.

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 selves. But there is another deceitful Remedy; which only covers and disguises them; its design is not to heal, so much as to conceal the Disease; and this consists in Extenuations and Excuses; from whence we commonly say, That *Wickedness makes it self a Garment, to cover its own Shame.* This is a Remedy invented by the Author of Evil himself; and it answers the Malice of his Nature and his Purposes, by rendring the Party so much the worse, and obstructing the Methods of his Recovery. Such were the Shifts and Shufflings, such the Covering of their Nakedness, which the first Transgressors made; the Fig-leaves and the Excuses were both alike, and made the Matter but so much the worse, while they labour'd to mend it.

We should therefore by all means learn to accuse our selves; and get that necessary Conquest over our Pride and Self-love, as frankly and fully to confess the very worst of our Thoughts and Actions, and not allow our selves in any reserves of this kind. For, besides, that this would beget a brave and generous Openness of Soul; it would likewise be a wonderful Check, and effectual Preservative against all such Actions and Thoughts, as are not fit to be publickly known, and what a Man would be ashamed of, if they were so. For he that obliges himself to tell all he does, will be sure to take care not to do any thing which shall need to be conceal'd. But alas! the common Practice of this naughty World is the direct contrary to the Advice I am giving. Every Man is discreet, and modest, and secret in the Confessing; but bold and free from all restraint in the Commit-
 ting

ting Part. For as indeed the Confidence and Hardiness of the Crime would be very much curb'd and abated; so likewise would it be in some measure compensated, by an equal Frankness and Hardiness in the accusing of our selves, and acknowledging what we have done amiss. For whatever Indecency there may be in doing an ill thing, not to dare to confess our selves in the wrong, is ten thousand times more odious and base. To this purpose we may observe, that there are several Instances of Persons eminent for Piety and Learning; such as *St. Augustin, Origen, Hippocrates*, and the like; who have taken pains to disabuse the World, and to publish Books, wherein they confess and retract their own Mistakes and erroneous Opinions; and well were it, if People could be brought to such a degree of Sincerity, as to do the same in point of Morals and Misbehaviour. Whereas now they oftentimes incur a greater Guilt, by endeavouring to hide and smother a less; for a publick premeditated Lye seems to carry some Aggravations along with it, which render it more abominable and more vicious, than some other Facts committed in secret; though these be such as in their own Nature are apt to raise a greater Abhorrence and Detestation in us. All this does but inflame the Reckoning; it either makes the first Fault worse, or adds a fresh one to it; and in either Case the Guilt of the Man is not abated, but increased; and whether we count this Increase by way of Addition, or of Multiplication, the Matter comes all to one.



C H A P. IV.

*The Second Fundamental Point of Wisdom.
The Fixing to one's self a particular End,
and then chalking out some determinate
Track, or Course of Life, which may
be proper for leading us to that End.*

AFTER having spoken so largely concerning this first Fundamental Point, the Real and Heartly Sincerity upon which Wisdom must be built, we are now led to say some small matter of the Second Predisposition, which is also necessary in order to living prudently and well. And that is, the Pitching upon, and Drawing out to one's self some determinate Method or Course of Life, that we may not live at large, and at random; but betake our selves to some particular sort of Business or Profession, which may be proper and convenient for us. My meaning is, such as a Man's own Temper and Natural Disposition qualifies him for, and applies it self chearfully to; (with this Caution only, that, while we follow our own Nature in particular, there be a constant Regard had to the Dictates of Human Nature in general, which is and ought to be the Great, the General, the Governing Mistress of us all, as you were told in the last Chapter.) For Wisdom is a gentle and regular Management of our Soul, that moves and acts in due Measure and Proportion, and consists in a constant Evenness of Life, and Consistency of Behaviour.

It

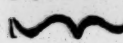
It must then of necessity be a Matter of very great Moment, to manage our selves well in making this Choice; with regard to which People behave themselves very differently, and act with great Confusion and Perplexity, by reason of the great Variety of Considerations and Motives which they are influenced with; and these many times such as interfere and confound one another. Some indeed are very fortunate in this Choice, and proceed with great Alacrity and Success; and these are such as either by reason of a particular Happiness in their Nature, found no great Difficulty in discerning and chusing what was most proper for their Purpose; or else by some lucky Hit, which spared them the Trouble of any great Deliberation, are thrown into their own Element; so that Fortune hath chosen for them, and fixed them right; or else the friendly Assistance and discreet Care of some Friends who had the Advising or the Disposal of them, hath conducted them in this weighty Affair to the best Advantage.

Others again are in the contrary Extreme, the most unhappy and ill-suited with their Circumstances that can possibly be imagined. They made a false Step at first, and have never been able to retrieve it since. Either they wanted the Judgment to know themselves, or the Diligence and Care which was necessary to take right Measures, or to think better, and knock off in time, when they found they had taken wrong. For the best thing left for them to do, had been to recede quietly; whereas for want of this prudent Retiring, they find themselves afterwards engaged too far, and beyond all Possibility of a Retreat. Which being
now

Chap. 4.

2.

This no easy Matter.

 now cut off, they are forced to drudge on through infinite Inconveniences, and lead a Life made up of nothing else but Trouble and Constraint, Repentance and Discontents.

But then this frequently happens too from some Failure in the Person that deliberates about it, and considers amiss; as well as from the Ignorance or the Rashness of such as consider very little, or not at all. And that may be from a Man's mistaking his own Genius or Capacity, and thinking too highly of his own Abilities. And when upon these false Presumptions he hath undertaken any thing above his Management, the Consequence of it is, either to lay it down again with Disgrace, or else to live in perpetual Pain and Torment, by obstinately persisting in an Attempt too much for him. We should always remember, that he that lifts a Burden must be stronger than his Burden; for else there is no Remedy, but he must let alone what he cannot carry, or sink under the Weight of it. And a wise Man will always be Master of his own Business, and not undertake more than it is possible for him to dispatch.

There is also another Obstruction of this kind, no less common and fatal than the former; which is a strange Levity of Temper, that never sticks to any thing, but is every day forming some new Project: Thus we see abundance of People that are never pleased or satisfied with any thing, every thing gives them Uneasiness and Discontent; tir'd of Business, and sick of Leisure; governing and being governed makes them equally restless, and they can neither lead nor follow quietly. Such Creatures as these are doom'd to Wretchedness

ness irrecoverable, for they are always under Constraint and Misery; every thing they do is grievous and against the grain: And, which adds yet more to their Unhappiness, they can never rest in quiet, but are always in Motion and Bustle, and all the while without any Design; constantly busy and nothing done; whereas the Actions of a wise Man have always some Aim to direct and determine them. * *And you must know, 'tis no small Commendation for a Man to be constantly the same; for all of us are of a thousand different Forms and Shapes, and none but the wise Man is all of a piece.*

But the greater Part of Mankind never bestow any serious Thought upon the Matter; and if you ask why they are of this Profession rather than any other, the only Account they are able to give is, that their Father was of it, or that they took a sudden Fancy to it; they are carried by Instinct or Constraint, their own blind Inclination, or the Authority of Friends and Relations. And as they engaged in it without thinking, so they are at a loss how to disengage again.

Now in order to a Man's managing himself in this Affair as he ought, that both his Choice may be wisely made, and the Discharge of the Employment he hath chosen may prove successful; there are two things which require a very particular Consideration; and these are the true Nature and Condition, both of himself and of his Business.

1. First, it is absolutely requisite he should be perfectly well acquainted with his own Mind, the

* *Magnam rem puta unum hominem agere; præter sapientem nemo unum agit, multiformes sumus.*

Constitu-

Book II.

Constitution, Inclination, Capacity, and Temper of Soul and Body both; wherein it is that his Excellency lies, and which are his weak and blind Sides; what he is qualified for, and of what he is uncapable or less disposed to. For a Man that goes against Nature, does in effect tempt God, and bid defiance to Providence; he cuts himself out a great deal of Work which he can never finish; and by breaking that known Rule, of * *attempting nothing which we cannot master*, exposes himself to Scorn and Derision, and becomes the Jest of all that know him.

2. After this Knowledge of himself, it is, in the next place, as necessary that he should be acquainted with his Business, that is, with that Employment, or Trust, or particular Condition of Life which he proposes to fix in. For there are some Professions encumber'd with Matters of great Difficulty; others of vast Importance; a third Sort that expose us to Danger, and a fourth, where the Business, though it be not of any mighty Consequence, is yet extremely intricate and perplexed, and involves a Man in a world of Trouble and Care, and other Affairs that depend upon, or are interwoven with it. Now all Employments of this nature do greatly harraß and fatigue the Mind, and keep one's Thoughts always busy and bent. Besides, as the Business of each Profession differs from the rest, so do the Faculties and Parts that qualify Men for it. One requires Accuracy of Judgment, another Liveliness of Imagination, a third Strength of Memory; and a Man may beve-

* Nec quidquam sequi quod assequi nequeas.

ry eminent and commendable in himself, and yet spoil all by being in a wrong Way. Now what hath been formerly observed in the First Book, concerning the Parts and Faculties of the Mind in general, and the differing Temperaments of the Brain, may, I presume, be of some Use in this Point; and, if judiciously applied, assist and direct Men toward the understanding, both the Nature of each Profession and Course of Life, and their own Fitness or Incapacity for it. For by examining first their own Disposition, and then the State of Life they have Thoughts of, and then confronting and comparing these two together, they will soon discern whether these will ever hit it, and agree long with each other; for agree they must, or no good can be done; this will quickly shew Men what they are to trust to. For if it happen that a Man be obliged to struggle with his own Inclination, and must conquer and commit a Violence upon his Nature, to make it serviceable to his Purpose, and capable of discharging the Employment he hath taken upon him; Or, on the other hand, if in Obedience to Nature, and to gratify our Inclination, we are, either with our own Consent, or insensibly and against our Wills, trepann'd into a Course that falls short of our Duty, or runs counter to it; what miserable Confusion and Disorder must here needs be? How can we ever expect Evenness under so much Force? Constancy from so much Constraint, or Decorum where every thing is against the grain? For, as is well observed, * *If there be such a thing as Decen-*

* Si quicquam decorum, nihil profecto magis, quam æqualitas vitæ universæ & singularum actionum; quam conservare non possis, si aliorum imitans Naturam, omittas tuam.

cy in the World, it is seen in nothing more than in an Easiness and Consistency, both of one's whole Life in general, and of each particular ACTION in it. And this Decorum can never be maintained, if you live in conformity to other Peoples Dispositions, and have no Regard to the following your own. There cannot be a vainer Imagination, than to suppose any thing can last long, and be well done and eminently good in its Kind, or that it can become a Man, or fit easy upon him, if there be not somewhat of Nature and Inclination in it.

** — Discern which way your Talent lies,
Nor vainly struggle with your Genius.*

Lord Roscom.

† That which is most a Man's own, is always most graceful; and we must always take care so to order Matters, as first to offer no Violence against Nature in general, and then to follow our own Genius in particular.

But now, if it should so fall out, that a Man, either through Misfortune, Imprudence, or any other Accident, should perceive himself entred into a Profession and Course of Life full of Trouble, inconvenient, and improper, and that he is so deeply engaged too, that there is no Possibility of changing or getting quit of it; in this Case, all that Wisdom and good Conduct hath to do, is to

** Tu nihil invitâ dices faciesve Minervâ.*

H O R. *Art. Poet.*

† Id quemque decet quod est suum maximè. Sic est faciendum, ut contra naturam universam nil contendamus; eâ servatâ propriam sequamur.

resolvę

resolve upon supporting and sweetning it; keeping one's self easy, and making the most of it; like skilful Gamesters, who when they have an ill Throw, mend it in playing. For *Plato's* Counsel is best upon these Occasions; The bearing our Chance patiently, and managing it to all the Advantage an ill Bargain is capable of. You see what a Knack of this kind Nature hath given to some sort of Creatures; when the Bees out of an Herb so rough, and harsh, and dry, as Thyme is, can extract so sweet a Substance as Honey. And this is such an Excellence as all those wise and good Men imitate, who manage Difficulties dexterously, and, as the Proverb expresses it, *make a Virtue of Necessity.*

C H A P. V.

*The First Act or Office of Wisdom,
The Study of, and Serious Endeavour af-
ter True Piety.*

THE necessary Preparations to Wisdom being thus explained in the former Chapters, which are in the Manner of laying our Foundation, it may now be seasonable to proceed to the Building itself, and erect upon this Ground-work, the Rules and Precepts of Wisdom. And here the first, both in Order and Dignity, which offers itself to our Consideration, concerns true Religion and the Service of Almighty God. For certainly

Book II. Piety ought to have the precedence of all Virtues, and is the highest and most honourable in the Scale of Duties; But the greater and more important it is, the more we are concerned to have a right notion of it; especially, when to the infinite consequence of the thing, we add the danger of being mistaken, and withal, how very common and easy it is, to deceive our selves in this Point. Great need therefore we have of Caution and good Advice, that we may be truly inform'd, how the Man who makes Wisdom his Aim and Business, ought to manage himself upon this weighty Occasion. And the giving Directions of this nature is the design of my present Discourse; after I have first made a short Digression concerning the State and Success of several sorts of Religion in the World. Of which I shall chuse to speak but briefly here, and refer my Reader for farther Satisfaction, to what I have said more at large to this purpose, in another Treatise of mine, called the *Three Truths*.

I.
*Difference
of Religi-
ons.* And first of all, I cannot but take notice, how dismal and deplorable a thing, the great Variety of Religions is, which either now do, or formerly have obtained in the World. And, which is yet a greater Misfortune and Reproach, the Oddness of some of them; Opinions and Rites, so fantastical, so exorbitant, that it is just matter of Wonder and Astonishment, which way the Mind of Man could so far degenerate into Brutality, and be so miserably besotted with Frauds and Folly. For upon Examination it will appear, that there is scarce any one thing so high or so low, but it hath been Deified; and even the vilest and most con-
tem-

temptible parts of the Creation, have, in some Quarter of the World or other, found People blind enough to pay them Divine Honours, and Adoration.

Chap. 5.

Now, notwithstanding this Difference be really as vast, and as horrid, as I have intimated, or my Reader can imagine; yet there seem to be some General Points in common, which, like Principles or Fundamentals, are such, as most, if not All of them have agreed in. For however they may wander from one another, and take different Paths afterwards, yet they set out alike, and walk hand in hand for some considerable Time. At least they appear, and affect to do so; the Devil transforming himself into an Angel of Light, and undermining the Truth by mimicking it; as knowing that the most effectual Art to seduce Men is by contriving fair and plausible Lies; and dressing up Wickedness in its most engaging Attire. To this purpose it is observable, that the most prevailing Persuasions have sprung from the same Climate, and first drew Breath in almost the same Air. *Palestine* I mean, and *Arabia*, which are Countries contiguous to one another. Some of their First and main Principles are very near alike, such as the Belief of one God, the Maker and Governor of all Things; all own the Providence of God, and his particular Love and Favour for Mankind; the Immortality of the Soul; a Reward in Reserve for the Good; and terrible Punishments, which await the Wicked, even after this Life; some particular Profession, and set Form of Solemn and External Worship, by which they put up their Prayers, invoke the Name of God, and think that a

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decent Honour, and acceptable Service and Homage is paid to the Divine Majesty by so doing. To give these a better Countenance and greater Authority in the World, some of them really produce, and others pretend Revelations, Visions, Prophecies, Miracles, Prodigies, Holy Mysteries, and eminent Examples of Saints, Persons exemplary for their Piety, or Sufferings, or Doctrine; and these Allegations, whether true or false, speak the General and Natural Sense of Mankind to agree in the expectations of Revelation from Heaven, and that Miracles are proper Attestations of them. Each hath a particular Scheme of its own, which distinguishes the Receivers of it from those of different Persuasions, and imposes certain Articles of Faith, and Forms of Discipline; Some as Terms of Communion, and Marks of Distinction, and Others as necessary to be believed in order to Salvation. All of them have at first been weak, and low, and little regarded; but from those slender Beginnings have by degrees gained ground upon the People, been insinuated, received, applauded, and at last entirely submitted to, by vast Multitudes; spread far and wide, and establish'd themselves; as if Opinions ran like contagious Diseases, and all that came within the Air of them, were sure to catch the Infection. And yet some of these owe all their Authority to Fictions and Tricks; insomuch that even the absurdest and most senseless of all Errors, have been embraced with as great Reverence and Devotion, and maintained with as much Stiffness and as positive a Confidence, as the very Truth it self. All of them do likewise agree in their Notions of Appeasing God;

God; and teach unanimously, that Prayers, and Offerings, Promises and Vows, Days of Extraordinary Humiliation and Thanksgiving, are proper Methods to incline his Ear, and obtain his Favour and good Acceptance for our Persons and our Requests: All believe, that the Principal and most pleasing Service we can pay to God, the most powerful Means of averting his Indignation, reconciling our selves, and becoming agreeable to him, is by giving one's self some torment and trouble; by laying heavy Burdens upon our selves, and cutting out a great deal of Work, the more difficult and contrary to our Inclination, the better, and more meritorious. For what other account but this, can we give of those infinite professed Austerities enjoin'd to particular Orders, the abundance of Fraternities and Societies of Men, which in all Religions throughout the World, the *Mahometan* as well as Christian, are devoted to sundry peculiar Exercises, full of Severity and Discipline, of Poverty and Pain, and Corporal Sufferings; even so far in some of them, as to scourge, and wound, and mangle their own Persons? These are observ'd to be more numerous, and differently Instituted in False Religions, than the True: And all this, from a strong persuasion, that they merit by this Discipline and voluntary Cruelty; and are in proportion so much better Men than others, as they afflict and torment themselves more than they. An Imagination which still prevails, and such as human Nature is never like to get quit of; for we see every day fresh Instances, and new Inventions of this kind, and what Industry Men use to be more ingenious and exquisite, in contriving new sorts of

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mortification and Punishment. Now all this, I say, can be accounted for no other way, than by assigning it to an Opinion, that God takes delight and is wonderfully pleased with the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures: * An Imagination, which to those who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention, seems to have been the Ground of all that way of Worship, which, before the Christian Religion made its Appearance in the World, was universally practis'd. Thus harmless Beasts were butcher'd every where, and their Blood spilt, and poured out upon Altars, as a valuable Present to the Divinity; and thus too in some Places (so prodigious was the Infatuation of Mankind) poor little innocent Children were barbarously

* An Imagination which, *to those who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention*, seems to have been the Ground of all that Way of Worship. I have, in the rendring of this Passage, added those Words, *To those who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention*; not supposing it at all proper, to let the Sentence run in general Terms, when the Matter affirm'd here by our Author is (to say the least of it) so very disputable. And accordingly I beg the Reader's leave to detain him a little upon this Occasion, while I lay before him the Mistake of our Author, in these two Particulars, with relation to Sacrifices; the first whereof is designed to shew, that Sacrifices were not at all of human Invention originally. The second, That supposing them to have been so, yet this superstitious and false Imagination of a God taking delight in the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures, does not seem to have been the Foundation of them, but rather other Notions of the Déity, of a very different kind from this.

First then, I desire it may be considered, Whether Sacrifices were originally of human Invention at all; which they must needs have been, to justify Monsieur Charron's Opinion of their proceeding from an erroneous and most unbecoming Idea
of

of God, entertain'd in the Minds of ignorant Men. This in- Chap. 5.
deed hath been a Point upon which learned Men have differ'd
in all Ages, and very great Authorities it is to be confes'd there
are on both Sides. The learned Reader, who hath the Leisure
and Curiosity to inform himself how this Matter stands, may
see the Variety of Judgments, and the Ground of them, in the
several Commentators upon the fourth and eighth Chapters of
Genesis, where the Sacrifices of *Abel* and *Noah* are mentioned;
or if that be too laborious to compare Expositors, two of our
learned Countrymen will help him to a short and full Collecti-
on of what can be said for that Side which asserts the human
Invention of Sacrifices: Dr. *Outram*, I mean, in his Book *De*
Sacrificiis, Lib. i. Cap. 1. *De Sacrificiorum Origine*: and Dr.
Spencer, in his Treatise *De Legibus Hebræorum*, Lib. iii. Dis-
2. Cap. 4. *De Ratione & Origine Sacrificiorum Patriarcha-*
lium.

It would be too great an Expence both of the Reader's Time
and my own, as well as improper for the Nature of an Adverti-
tisement, to lay down at large all that is usually argued on both
Sides of the Question. The Sum of it may be reduc'd within
a narrow Compass; and therefore I shall with all possible Bre-
vity, mention the Arguments of those who maintain the human
Invention of Sacrifices, together with the Reasons which I con-
ceive may persuade the contrary rather; and that in regard they
either seem to take off the Force of their Arguments, or other-
wise recommend the divine Institution of Sacrifices, as an Opi-
nion more probable, and liable to less Difficulties.

I. First then, it is urged, That God himself denies, that he
ever instituted Sacrifices, till after the *Israelites* Deliverance out
of their *Ægyptian* Bondage; from whence the Conclusion is
this; That whatsoever Sacrifices were offered before that Time,
they must necessarily be of Man's own Devising, since we have
the Testimony of God, declaring in very solemn manner, that
they were not of his Appointment. The Texts insisted upon
to this purpose are those two, *Isaiah* i. 11, 12. *To what pur-*
pose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord?
I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed
beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or
of he-goats; when ye come to appear before me, who hath required
this at your hands, to tread my courts? The other, *Jer.* vii.
21, 22. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Put*
your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I

Book II. *spake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Ægypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices.*

Now any one, who considers the Occasion of these Passages, will find that both of them are intended for a Reproof to the Hypocrisy of the *Jews*, and a Check to that Confidence they reposed in those ritual Performances, though void of that real Devotion, and inward Purity, which alone is acceptable to God. The Context in each Place manifestly proves this to have been their Design, and the want of comparative Degrees in the *Hebrew* Language, will suffer no great Strefs to be laid upon the negative Form of Speech. That known Instance quoted by our Blessed Lord, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, is Key sufficient to these before us, and can warrant our concluding only thus much from them; "That God prefers substantial Holiness infinitely before these Things; that Obedience was that Thing he always required, and Sacrifices being in reality but so many Professions of that, were not properly to be look'd upon as essential Duties, wherein the *Israelites* Part of the Covenant consisted; that these were by no means what he aimed at, in admitting them to Covenant with himself; and consequently, when destitute of their Substance and End, were empty and insignificant, of no account with God, and not a Worshipping him, but, to speak plainly and truly, what he very emphatically and contemptuously calls, a *Treading his Courts*." I add too, that this Text of *Jeremiah* cannot possibly be taken in a strict and literal Sense, since it is manifest God did speak to their Fathers in the very Day that he brought them out of *Ægypt*, concerning one Sacrifice, the Passover I mean, which though a Feast, yet is it frequently termed a Sacrifice too; and therefore some Interpreters here have taken refuge in restraining that Text to Sin-Offerings and Peace-Offerings, and not extending it to Sacrifices at large: which yet will not answer their Purpose, since the very same *Hebrew* Word, which *Jeremy* makes use of, is twice together applied to the Passover by *Moses*, *Deut. xvi. 5, 6*.

Deut. xvi. 5, 6.
1 Cor. v. 8.
 זָבַח
Zabach Lo
Tizbach.

II. A second Argument is drawn from *Cain* and *Abel*, offering each the Product of his own Labours respectively, which makes it probable that such Oblations were the Product of a grateful Mind, dictating to them that God ought to have some Acknowledgment and Return made him for his Benefits. Now that Nature might inform Men, of a Duty incumbent upon them

them to worship God, and the common Notions of Gratitude Chap. 5.
put them upon applying Part of their Substance to the Honour and Service of him who gave the Whole, Men find easy to apprehend. But the Difficulty is, How Nature should inspire Men with a Thought, that burning this by Fire, or otherwise ordering it, as the Custom of Sacrifices was, is a proper Method of expressing their Honour for, and Gratitude to God. Again, Had Sacrifices been a Dictate of Nature, how came they ever to be abolished, since the Natural is Part of that Law, which our Saviour came *not to destroy*, but to *perfect and fulfil*? This Inconvenience Dr. Outram was sensible of, and therefore he makes a Distinction between the first and eternal Dictates and Laws of Nature, and other Institutions and Ordinances in pursuance of, and agreement with those. Whether this be sufficient to clear the Difficulty, I leave the Reader to judge, and for that purpose I have presented him with the whole Passage in the * Margin. One thing only I desire may be observed, which is, That this Argument, of what Force soever it may prove for Sacrifices of Thanks, yet can give no Countenance at all to those of any other Sort; and particularly not to the expiatory, which Mons. Charron hath chiefly regard to, if not to them alone, in this Place.

III. A Third Reason is taken from the great Design God seems to have had in the Legal Sacrifices, that of containing the *Israelites* within the Worship of one God, and in order to it, condescending so far to their Infirmities, and the Infection they had taken from the Idolatry of *Aegypt*, as to conform their Worship and Rites to those of the Heathen World. Now it is not to be denied, but this seems to have been the Case; and probably the best Account why such particular Rites were instituted; but to make the Argument effectual, we must enquire, how those Heathen came by their Sacrifices and Ceremonies. For that may be a very good and rational Explanation of the

* *Id unum hoc in loco monere visum est, hos qui suâ cujusque sponte primo Sacrificatum judicant, etiamsi fortè, quibusdam in locis incautius loqui videantur; hunc tamen Sacrificandi ritum ad Naturæ Leges propriè dictas, æternas utique & immutabiles non referre; sed ad ejusmodi Instituta, quæ Ratio Naturalis excogitaverit tanquam ad conspicuum Dei cultum, apta satis & idonea. Prius illud si qui fecerint, ex eo falsi arguuntur, quòd Christus Sacrificandi ritus apud Veteres olim usitatos penitus apud Sinos deleverit; qui idem tamen tantum absuit, ut ullas aboleret Naturæ leges, ut has omnes Auctoritate sua ratas, certas, ac firmas fecerit. Outram. de Sacrif. Lib. I. Cap. i. Sect. 4.*

Book II. *Mosaic Institution*, which is not a sufficient Account of the Patriarchal Religion. And in the Sequel of this Discourse my Reader will find occasion to consider, whether there were not another End to be served by the Sacrifices both Patriarchal and Levitical, which mere Nature could not attain to, and therefore a positive Institution was necessary for the promoting it.

IV. It may be said Fourthly, That as God left the first Ages of the World, to the Dictates of Nature and right Reason in the Discovery and Practice of Moral Duties, so it is most likely they were left to the same Guidance for the Exercise of Religion too; and if any Notions and Ceremonies grew common upon this Occasion, not so agreeable to the Nature of true Religion, and the Dignity of an Almighty Majesty, these are capable of great Allowances, and suit well enough with the Simplicity of the first Ages of the World.

To this I presume it may suffice to answer, That the Case of Moral Duties, and Religious Rites is very different: The one are purely the Result of a reasonable and thinking Mind; the other of a Nature which we must needs be much in the dark about. For though Reason would convince me, that God is to be worshipped, yet he alone can tell me, what Worship will be acceptable to him. At least, if I must beat out my own Track, the Notions I entertain of God must direct me. Now these might convince a Man, that Purity and Sincerity, Justice and Goodness, and the like, must needs please an infinitely perfect Being. But which way could an Imagination so foreign enter into Mens Heads, as that God would be pleased with the Blood and Fat of Beasts? Admit these to have been the chief of their Substance, and devoted, because as such fittest for them to express their Acknowledgments by; that as devoted and entirely set apart to holy Uses, it could not without Sacrilege be partaken of by Men, and that from hence the Custom of burning the Sacrifices took its Original: Yet what shall we say to the expiatory Oblations? And how could Men by any Strength of Reason comprehend the Possibility of a vicarious Punishment; or hope that the Divine Justice should be appeas'd by Offerings of this kind, and accept the Life of the Offender's Beast, instead of the forfeited Life of the Offender himself? These things seem to be far out of the Way and Reach of human Discourse; it is scarce, if at all, possible to conceive what should lead the Generality of Mankind to such

Conse-

Consequences, such Ideas of God as these: And I think little Chap. 5.
needs be said to convince Men, that the Difference is vastly
great between such Religious Rites, and those Moral Duties
which have their Foundation in the best Reason, and are all of
them so coherent, so agreeable to sober and uncorrupted Nature,
that the more we attend, and the closer we pursue them, the
greater Discoveries we shall be sure to make, and the more con-
sistent will be all our Actions with the first and most obvious
Principles of the Mind. So that no Parity of Argument can
lie between these two.

The Force of this Reason is sufficiently confessed by the ve-
ry learned Assertor of that other Opinion; nor can he deny (as
some, I think, with a Design to make short Work of it, have
done) that expiatory Sacrifices were offered before the Law: Spencer,
Lib. III.
Cap. iv.
Diff. 2.
Sec. 2.
But then these are supposed to proceed, not from any positive
Persuasion, or good Assurance of obtaining Pardon by that
means; but some Hope, that God would have regard to the
pious Intention of the Person, and consider and restore him
upon that Account. Which Opinion *Arnobius* exposes in such
a manner, as plainly to shew that it generally prevailed; and
many Testimonies of Heathen Writers themselves confess, that
they looked upon God to be capable of being mollified and won
over, as angry Men are, by Submissions, and Presents, and
other sweetening Methods. All which Misapprehensions are
conceived agreeable to the Darkeness of Pagans, and the Sim-
plicity of earlier Ages.

Now, with all due Reverence to the Authority of those
great Men who urge it, I can by no means satisfy my self with
the Colour they give to these Arguments, from the rude and
unpolish'd State of Men in the first Ages of the World. This,
I know, is a Notion very agreeable to the Heathen Philoso-
phers and Poets, and their Accounts of the Original of this
World, the Progress of Knowledge, and Improvement of
Mankind. And this might probably agree well enough with
that Age, when *Abraham* and his Seed were chosen out from
the midst of a dark and degenerate Race. But whether it agree
with the Times of *Abel* and *Noah*, and the *Antediluvian* Fa-
thers, will bear a great Dispute. We fancy perhaps, that be-
fore there was any written Word, all was dark; but there is no
Consequence in that; nor will it follow, because Arts and pro-
fitable Inventions for the Affairs of this Life, grew up with
the World, that Religion too was in its infant Weakness and
Ignorance

Book. II

How. 1. in
Matth.

Ignorance in those early Days. St. *Chrysostom*, I am sure, gives a very different Account of the Matter: He says, the Communications of God's Will were more liberal and frequent then; that Men lived in a sort of familiar Acquaintance with him, and were personally instructed in Matters necessary and convenient; much better enabled to worship and serve him acceptably; and because they did not discharge their Duty, and answer their Advantages, that he withdrew from this friendly way of conversing with Mankind; and then to prevent the utter Loss of Truth, by the Wickedness and Weakness of Men, a written Word was judged necessary; and that put into Books, which the Corruption of Manners had made unsafe, and would not permit to continue clear and legible in Mens Hearts. In the mean while, the Preference he manifestly gives both for Knowledge and Purity to the first Ages; and compares the Patriarchs at the Beginning of the World, in this Point, to the Apostles at the Beginning of Christianity; as Parallels in the Advantages of Revelation and spiritual Wisdom, infinitely superior to the succeeding Times of the Church. And it is plain from Scripture itself, that *Enoch*, *Noah*, and other Persons eminently pious, signally rewarded for it, and inspired with God's own Spirit, were some of those early Sacrificers. Persons to whose Character the pretended Simplicity and Ignorance of the first Ages of the World, will very ill agree.

V. There is, I must own, a great Prejudice against this divine Institution of Sacrifices, from the Book of *Genesis* being silent in the thing; it being urged, as a mighty Improbability, that so considerable an Ordinance, and one which grew so general, should have no mention made of its first Command and Establishment; especially when so many things of seemingly less moment, are expressly taken notice of; and by that means strengthen the Opinion, which attributes a Matter acknowledg'd on all hands to be of Consequence, to some Original, other than immediately Divine.

Now, if we consider the Design and Manner of the Book of *Genesis*, it will by no means appear strange to us, that many things should be omitted; this being, I conceive, intended chiefly to give a short Account of the Creation and Fall of Man, the Promise of a Redeemer, and to draw down the Line of Descent to the chosen Seed, from whence our Saviour sprung, and the People of the *Jews*, the Figure of the Christian Church, derived themselves. So that their History and Religion

ligion being the principal Subject of the Five Books of *Moses*, Chap. 5. we find very little Enlargement upon Particulars, till after the Call of *Abraham*. For if we consider the three first Chapters containing the Creation and Fall of our first Parents, the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth giving an Account of the Deluge, and Preservation of *Noah's* Family; there remain but four more, before the Call of *Abraham*; and in those the Succession from *Adam* to *Noah*, the Dispersion of *Noah's* Posterity for peopling the World, and the Occasion of that Dispersion are contained. 'Tis true, some things are inserted which to us seem of less moment; but, besides that some Account may in reason be given, why they should be mentioned, the Holy Spirit who indited these Books, was the best Judge of that. But it is also true, that several other things as considerable as this are omitted likewise, which we do not upon that score disbelieve; such particularly, as those of Times stated, and Assemblies convened for the publick Worship of God; and certainly it is as necessary and as important at least, to expect a Revelation for the solemn Service of God, as for any particular Mode of serving or addressing him.

I have now laid before my Reader the State of the Case, as they who alledge human Invention for Sacrifices have put it; and in the Answer to those Arguments, have given some for the contrary Opinion. That the Authorities on that Side are considerable, is acknowledged; but the general Sense of the Christian Church seems to incline to Divine Institution. And the most reasonable Account of this Matter, if I apprehend it rightly, stands thus.

That Almighty God instructed *Adam*, how he would please to be worshipped, and *Adam* trained his Family and Posterity, both by Example and Instruction, in the same solemn Methods of serving and addressing to God.

That from the Time of a Redeemer's being promised, expiatory Sacrifices were both instituted and practised; partly as an Intimation to Men of their own Guilt, and the final Destruction they deserved; and partly as a Shadow and Prefiguration of that vicarious Punishment, which God had promised to admit for the Sins of Men, in the Redemption of the World by the perfect Sacrifice of his Son.

That as no Age of the World can be instanced in, when God did not afford Men some visible Signs and Sacraments of his Favour, and the Covenant between him and them; so the Ages
before

Book. II. before the Institution of the *Jewish* Law, (which abounded with very excessive and particular Significations of this kind) had Sacrifices for that purpose.

That the Heathen Sacrifices were not pure Inventions of Men, but Corruptions of a Divine Institution. Which being propagated to all the Off-spring of *Adam*, was differently received, and depraved by the Uncertainty of Tradition, long Tract of Time, the Artifice of the Devil, and Mens own vicious Affections. Of which, whoever reads the Apologies for Christianity, will find Proofs in abundance; and be convinced that the Pagan Idolatry was built originally upon the Worship of the true God, vitiated, and perverted, and misapplied. For we must in reason be sensible, that the likeliest and most usual Way, by which the Devil prevails upon Men, is not by empty and groundless Imaginations, or Inventions perfectly new; but by disguising and mimicking the Truth, and raising erroneous and wicked Superstructures upon a good and sound Bottom.

It is therefore, it seems at least in my poor Opinion, most probable, that the *Jewish* Ceremonies were indeed adapted to the *Egyptian* and other Pagan Rites, which the *Israelites* had been acquainted with, and were not then in a Condition to be entirely weaned from. But withal, that those Pagan Sacrifices were Corruptions of the old Patriarchal; not entirely mere Inventions of their own, but Additions only, and extravagant Excrescencies of Error, to which the Truth and positive Institution of God first gave the Hints and Occasions. For though it can very hardly be conceived how Sacrifices should be of mere human Motion; yet there is no Difficulty in supposing, that the Thing once instituted, and once established, might be abused, and depraved to very prodigious and abominable Purposes. As it was, no doubt, very early in that universal Degeneracy to Idolatry, from which it pleased God to rescue *Abraham* and his Posterity.

One very remarkable Circumstance contributing to the Strength of this Opinion is, that almost every where the Ceremonies in the Act of Oblation seem to be very much alike; which is very natural to an Exercise and Institution derived down from one common Head, and originally fixed by a positive Command; but scarce conceivable of an Invention merely human, where Men in all likelihood would have run into as great Diversity, and thought themselves as much at liberty as they

do in the Affairs of common Life. But especially, the sacrificing Beasts by way of Atonement obtained universally, and the Imagination of their Blood being necessary and effectual for Pardon. Which, I confess, if a Dictate of Nature and Reason only, is certainly the strangest and most remote from any present Conceptions we are able to form of the Dictates of Nature, of any that ever yet prevailed in the World. And therefore this is scarce accountable for any other Way, than from the Promise of a Redeemer and Sacrifice to come, which the Sacrifices of Beasts were in the mean while appointed to represent.

That such an Institution agrees very well with all the Ends of Sacrifice, is not to be denied. For the Death of the Beast, though not personally felt by the Offender, would yet give him a full and very expressive Idea of the fatal Consequences of Sin; and the Acceptance of that Life, instead of his own which was forfeited, and by that Act of sacrificing acknowledged obnoxious to divine Justice, was a lively Representation of the Mercy of God. But still the Apostle's Argument is founded in Reason, and may be an Appeal to all Mankind, *It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin.* And therefore not only *Eusebius* in his Xth Chapter of *Demonstrat. Evang. Lib. I.* ascribes this Worship to divine Inspiration, but *Aquinas* says, That before the Law, just Men were instructed by an inward Instinct, after what particular Manner God would be worshipped; as they were afterwards under the Law, by external Precepts. So *Plato* says, That no moral Capacity can know or determine what is fit to be done in holy Matters, and therefore forbids the Alteration of the established Rites and Sacrifices as impious. And the Testimonies of *St. Chrysostom* and *Justin Martyr* have been thought to mean, not so much, that all Sacrifice was a Dictate of Nature, as that some Circumstances relating to it, were left to the Dictates of Man's Reason. So that when God had taught *Adam* and his Posterity, that they should worship in their several Manners, and what he would please to accept; the Manner and Measure, and such like Considerations were left to Choice, and Reason, and positive Laws. In short, the Religion of our Hearts and Wills, our Prayers and Praises might be natural, and the Result of mere Reason; but for other external Significations of this, especially any so foreign as that of Sacrificing, Men were not likely, nor was it fit they should venture, to do any thing of their own

Heads.

Taylor's
Ductor Du-
bit. B. II.
Chap. iii.
N. 30.

Book II.  Heads. Nor was it probable they would attempt it, for fear of Mistakes, and such indecent Expressions as might be very dishonourable to the God they worshipped, and rather provoke his Justice by rash and superstitious Affronts, than incline his Mercy by their indiscreet Intentions to please him. And therefore, considering the Confusion *Adam* was in after the Fall, and the Circumstances of that Time, it seems most agreeable to believe, that he waited God's Directions, and was fully informed by him in such a Service, as might at once excite both the Fear and the Love of God, enforce the Offerer's Sorrow and Repentance, and increase his Faith and Hope.

While my Thoughts were upon this Subject, it came into my Mind, that possibly the Tradition of a Redeemer to come, and that God would one day reconcile himself to the World by the Sacrifice of a Man, and his own Son; that this Tradition I say, darkened, confounded, and perverted by the Increase of Idolatry and the Cunning of the Devil, might be abused to the putting Men upon human Sacrifices, and particularly those of their own Children. I know there are other Accounts to be given of this Matter; and I propose this as a mere Conjecture, not otherwise fit to trouble the Reader withal; but that I believe, if strict Enquiry were made, it would be found, that most of the Heathen Abominations in Divine Worship were some way or other at a distance, by Mistake, imperfect Report, perverse Interpretations, or by some cunning Stratagem of the Devil or other, fetched originally from the Revelations and Institutions of the true Religion. And I cannot but think, that it would be great Service to the Truth, if the Falshoods that have corrupted, and were set up in Opposition to it, could be well traced, and set in the best Light which this Distance will permit. But that must needs be a very laborious Undertaking, and, where a great deal will depend upon probable Conjecture, will require a very judicious Hand.

I have thus given the Reader my rough Thoughts upon the Point of Sacrifices, omitting such Proofs for the Opinion I incline to, as seem to me not conclusive, but not any that I am conscious of on the other Side. There is no Danger in either Opinion consider'd in itself, but ill Insinuations may be raised from that of human Invention; if Men from thence shall pretend to draw Consequences to the Prejudice of natural Religion, and argue either against the Certainty of, or the Regard due to it; from an Imagination, that Extravagancies so wicked,

so odd, or so barbarous, as the Heathen Rites of Worship, and Chap. 5.
the wild Superstitions and unbecoming Notions of God, upon
which they were grounded, resulted from human Nature, and
were the Product of Reason, rather than the horrible Deprava-
tions of a supernatural Institution, highly proper and signifi-
cant, serviceable to excellent Purposes, and adapted to those
Ages of the World. And in hope of preventing any Conse-
quences of this kind it is, that I thought these Remarks might
not be unseasonable. And for the Usefulness and Light which
this Account of Sacrifices brings with it, provided we will fol-
low it in its natural Consequences; how wise an Institution,
how reasonable to be incorporated into the *Jewish* Law, how
providentially dispersed over the whole World, and how prepa-
ratory to the Doctrine of the Redemption of Mankind, by
predisposing the *Gentiles* also to believe the Sacrifice of Christ,
my Reader may, if he please, be inform'd to his great Satisfa-
ction, by that short but excellent Account of this Matter, gi-
ven by Dr. *Williams*, the now Reverend Bishop of *Chichester*,
in his second Sermon at Mr. *Boyle's* Lecture for the Year 1695.

VI. After so long and particular Enlargement upon the first
of those Things, wherein I endeavour to prevent any Mistakes
that may arise from this Passage, there will need but very little
Addition to clear the other. For if the Arguments for a Di-
vine Institution of Sacrifices cast the Scale, the Business is al-
ready done to our hands; and if they be admitted of human
Invention, yet according to all the Schemes of this Matter laid
down by the Assertors of it, Sacrificers were mov'd by Appre-
hensions of God very different from that of his taking delight
in the Sufferings of his Creatures. For they represent Sacrifi-
ces as the Effects of Gratitude, a Mind impatient to make some
sort of Return, and pay back such Acknowledgments at least
of his Goodness who gave all, as the dedicating the best of his
Gifts to him could amount to. And accordingly, this Cir-
cumstance of chusing the best for Sacrifice seems to have been
as universally observed, as the Duty of Sacrificing itself. This
is the Reason alledg'd by some for slaying Beasts, as being the
best of all their Substance; and upon the same account too
those Kinds which were esteem'd best for Food. This perhaps
was one Motive abused afterwards even to the introducing that
Abomination of sacrificing Men and Children, Virgins and
Firstborn. And even in expiatory Sacrifices, could these possi-
bly have been invented by Men, yet 'tis plain the Persuasion of

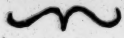
Book II. a Beast being acceptable as a Ransom for the Owner, must include an Idea of Mercy and Condescension at least in the Deity, which was content with such a Compensation.

It argued, I confess, very gross Notions of God to suppose, that such things could be Presents fit for a pure Spirit, and the Majesty of Heaven and Earth, which every Superior among Men would disdain and detest. But this grew by degrees, and the other, of his being a sanguinary Being, delighted with the Fumes of reeking Altars, and drinking the Blood of Goats, was owing to the Superstition and Idolatry of later and degenerate Times; and is a Thought, which those who first practised this Way of Worship, whether by Instruction, or their own mere Motion, were never supposed guilty of by any that have undertook to consider the Nature and Original of the Patriarchal Sacrifices.

Nay, I add too upon this Occasion, That the Notions mentioned in this Chapter, which, it is to be feared, are but too commonly entertain'd of Severities and Satisfactions, (as they are called) owe themselves to the same Causes, and are the genuine Extract of Hypocrisy, Superstition, and formal Devotion. That Fastings and voluntary Mortifications are of excellent Use in Religion, no sober Man ever doubted. They are profitable in many Cases, and in some necessary. They assist us in conquering our Appetites and Passions; and subdue the Man by beating down the Out-works: They express a very becoming Indignation against our selves, in the Exercise of Repentance; and are often instrumental in heightning and inflaming our Devotion: But that they are good and meritorious in themselves, or any farther valuable than as they serve to promote our Improvement in some Virtues or Graces that are substantially good; especially that God likes us the better merely because we use our selves the worse, is a very fantastical and erroneous Imagination; and such as any Communion or Party of Men by encouraging, do great Injury to the Honour of God, deceive the Souls of Penitents, and hinder the Essentials of Religion, which are Faith and Newness of Life. In short, they expose Religion in general to the Scorn of all those who see the Foppery and Unreasonableness of those mistaken Methods; and call the very Foundations of it into question, by tempting such to think, that it is all Invention and Trick, and empty, senseless Formality.

rously tortur'd and murder'd; and Grown Persons, sometimes Malefactors, and sometimes Men of eminent Virtue and clear Reputation, were offered in Sacrifice; and this was the usual Worship of almost all Nations, and looked upon, as one of the most solemn, and most acceptable Acts of Devotion. Thus the Old *Getae* in *Scythia* are said, among other Instances of Adoration and Honour paid to their God *Zamolxis*, to dispatch a Man to him once in five Years, to consult and supplicate him in all things necessary for them. And, because the Ceremony requires, that this Advocate of theirs should die in an instant, and the manner of exposing him to Death (which is the being pierced through with three Javelins) is somewhat doubtful in the Execution; therefore it often happens, that several are thus dispatched, before any one wounds himself in a part so mortal, as to expire immediately; and only He that does so, is esteemed a Favourite of their God, and proper for that purpose; but all the rest, who die slowly, are to be rejected, as unfit for this Sacrifice. Thus did the *Persians* worship their Gods; as that single Fact of *Amestris*, the Mother of *Xerxes*, testifies, who in agreement to the Principles of Religion then prevailing in that Country, did, as an Offering of Thanks for her own long and prosperous Life, bury fourteen young Persons of Quality alive, Branches of the Noblest Families in the whole Kingdom. So likewise did the ancient *Gauls*, and *Carthaginians*, among whom young Children were Sacrificed to *Saturn*, and that with so remorseless a Zeal, that even the Fathers and Mothers used to be present, and assisting at the Cere-

Book II.



mony. Thus the *Lacedemonians* sought to ingratiate themselves with their Goddess *Diana*, by Scourging their young Men in Complaisance to her; nay, doing it with such Rigor, that they expired under it: For the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* shews, that she was Worshipped with Human Blood. The Instance of the two *Decij* proves, that the *Romans* were possess'd with the same Imagination too; which gave occasion for this Reflection in one of their Writers; * *What strange Provocation could make the Gods so extremely hard and severe, that there was no way of reconciling them to the People of Rome, unless the Attonement were made by the Blood of such gallant Men?* Thus the *Mahometans*, who slash and cut their Faces, their Breasts, and other Members, to recommend themselves to their Prophet; and the People in our new Discoveries of the *East* and *West Indies*, and at *Themistitan*, where they cement the Images of their Gods with Childrens Blood. Now what Madness, what Stupidity is this, to suppose, that Inhuman Actions can ever gain upon the Divine Nature; that the Goodness of God is requited, or decently acknowledged by our own Sufferings; or that Barbarity can be a proper Method of satisfying his angry Justice? As if Justice could thirst after Human Blood, or feast it self upon the Innocent Lives, that are spilt with infinite Torture, and the most exquisite Pain. † *At this rate the*

* Quæ fuit tanta iniquitas Deorum, ut placari Pop. Rom. non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent?

† Ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt.

Gods are fond of Expiations which even Men abominate; and the Mercy of Heaven is purchased with such Barbarities, as all Nature starts at. Whence could so wild a fancy as this, a fancy so distant from all the just Ideas and Perfections of God spring up, that he takes pleasure in the Misery of Human Nature, and the Ruin, or at least the Torment and Damage of his own Workmanship? What can be more impious or extravagant, and how monstrous a Being does such a Belief as this, make of God? And how justly does the Doctrine of Christ command our Reverence and Esteem, which hath abolished all such Worship, and rectified Mens Notions in this matter?

Now as all, or Most Religions have been shewed to have some Principles in common, wherein they are agreed, so have they likewise others peculiar to themselves; Certain Articles, which are the Characters, and, as it were, the Boundaries of their respective Communions; and serve to separate and distinguish the many Sects and Professions from one another. With regard to these it is, that the Men of every Religion prefer themselves above all the World besides; that they affirm, with great Assurance, their own Persuasion to be the best, the most Orthodox of any; and, as another means of magnifying themselves, are eternally reproaching those that differ from them, with Errors and Corruptions; and by this means they are eternally employ'd too in creating Breaches, or in widening and keeping open such as are already made; by the mutual Disallowance and Condemnation, which every Party is perpetually declaring against the Notions of every other Party, and representing

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3.
And others
wherein
they differ.

Book II.

all Systems, but their own, to be false and dangerous, and by no means to be admitted.

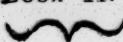
4.

But, Blessed be God, We Christians need be in no pain in the midst of this Variety and Contest. Our Religion having the Advantages of all others, both in point of Authentick and Unquestionable Testimony, and in other Excellencies peculiar to it self. This I have demonstrated at large in the Second of my *Three Truths*, and shew'd the manifest Preeminence due to it.

5.
*The later
are built
upon the
former and
more anti-
ent.*

Now one thing is very worthy our Observation in this general Strife; and that is the Advantage, which Time and Succession have given in this matter. For we shall find, that in proportion as one Religion hath been of a later date than another, so it hath gain'd somewhat from that which came into the World before it, and the Younger hath always built and raised it self upon the Elder; more particularly upon that, which was next of all before it in Order and Time. And the method of effecting this hath been, not by disproving or exploding all that went before in the gross and at once; for upon these terms it could never have found Entertainment, or got any manner of Footing with People so prepossessed; but the Course hath been, to accuse what was formerly received, of some defect or Insufficiency; alledging that the Institution was imperfect in it self; or that it was only Temporary; and the Term, for which it was calculated, then expired; and therefore this New Additional one was necessary to succeed in the place of an abolish'd, and to compleat an unfinished Religion. And thus by degrees the New one ri-

ses upon the Ruins of the Old, and is enrich'd by the Spoils of its vanquish'd Predecessor: As we know the Case hath plainly stood with the *Jewish* Religion, when it prevailed over the *Pagan* and *Egyptian* way of Worship; the *Jewish* People not being to be brought off from the Customs of that Country all at once: And afterwards the Christian Faith and Promises, when they triumphed over the *Jewish* Privileges and *Mosaical* Dispensation; and since that, the same Pretence hath been made use of to advance *Mahometanism* upon the *Jewish* and *Christian* Religion taken together. Each of these hath retained something of the Religion it pretended to dispossess, and built upon Old Foundations: But none so much as the *Mahometan*; which professes to persist, and be fully persuaded in All the Doctrines of Jesus Christ, save only that Great and most Important one, which asserts his Divinity. So that he who would pass from *Judaism* to *Mahometanism*, must take Christianity in his way. And we are told, there have been some *Mahometans*, who have exposed themselves to Sufferings and Torture, in defence of the Christian Truths; as a Christian likewise upon his own Principles would be found to do, in Vindication of the Authority, and Doctrines of the Old Testament. But now, if we cast our Eyes upon the more Ancient sort of Institutions, we shall find them dealing after a very different manner with the New, which (as I said) in part allow, and only profess to improve and refine upon them. For they reject and condemn them entirely, give them no quarter, but cry out upon them for Innovations, and look upon every thing of later date

Book II.  than themselves, as a mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to the Truth; as if after the Period of their own Establishment, Time could from thenceforth produce none but monstrous Births; and all, who did not sit down and stick there, must be inevitably abandoned to Falshood and Corruption.

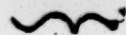
6. *All of them uncouth to Nature.* This I think, may be farther affirm'd to be a Qualification common to all Religions whatsoever; that they are, every one, in some Points uncouth and foreign from the Common Sense and Apprehensions of Mankind. And the Reason seems to be, that they all of them propound to our Consideration and Belief, and are Systems consisting of, and built upon, Points of a very distant kind from Common Sense. For some of them, when weigh'd in the Balance of Human Judgment, appear to be exceeding mean, and low, and contemptible; such as a Man of Wit, and Vigorous Thought, finds himself rather tempted to ridicule and expose than to pay any Reverence to them: And others again are so exceeding sublime, the Lustre of them so strong, the Nature of them so full of Miracle and Mystery, that as Finite Causes could never effect, so Finite Understandings can never comprehend them fully; and at these the Men of Discourse and Demonstration take Offence, and will allow nothing to be credible, which is not intelligible. Whereas in Truth, the Sphere in which the Human Intellect moves and acts, is placed between these two Extremes. For we are capable but of such things as lie in a middle State, and are of a moderate proportion. These only are of a size with our Souls, they fit us, and therefore they

they only please and are easy to us. Those of a lower Rank we look down upon with Indignation and Scorn; and those of a higher Condition are too weighty and bulky for us; they create Wonder and Amazement only; and therefore the Wonder ought not to be great, if the Mind of Man recoil again, and shew a dislike against all Religion; since in all there is so very little of such Doctrine as is agreeable to the common Temper and Capacity of Mankind; but the principal Points of Faith and Worship are in one of the forementioned Extremes, and those of Practice distant, either from common Use, or from general Inclination. Hence it comes to pass, that the Men of strong Parts have so often despised Religion, and exposed it to the Derision of the World; and those of Weak and Superstitious Minds are Confounded and Scandalized at it. This was St. Paul's Complaint in the first Planting of the Christian Faith; *We preach Jesus Christ crucified, to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Foolishness.* And this indeed is the very Reason, why we find so much Profaneness and Irreligion, so much Error and Heresy, in the World. Some believe not at all, and others believe amiss, because they consult their own Judgment only, and hearken to no other Guide, but the Dictates of Human Reason. They bring matters of Religion to the same Trial with other common Matters, and will needs undertake to examine, and measure, and judge of them, by the Standard of their own Capacity; they treat this Divine, like other Common and merely Human Sciences and Professions; expecting to master, and penetrate to the bottom of it, by the strength of Natural

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1 Cor. i.
123.

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Natural Parts. But This is not the Way of dealing with Divine Truths ; a Man's Affections must be qualified and disposed for these Doctrines. They require Simplicity and Honesty, Meekness of Temper, an humble and obedient Mind. These only can fit a Man for receiving Religion ; For he that does so in good Earnest, must believe its Declarations, submit to its Laws, and govern himself by them, with Reverence and Resignation of Soul. In short, he must be content that his own Judgment should be over-ruled by the Word of God ; and to live and be led by universal Consent and Authority ; which seems to be the Subjection intended by the

2 Cor. x. 5. Apostle, when he speaks of * *Casting down Imaginations (or Reasonings) and every high Thing that exalteth itself against the Knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Faith.*

7.
Reason good
they should
be so.

And, however the conceited or unthinking Part of the World may quarrel at this Method ; yet it was certainly a great Instance of the Divine Wisdom, to order the Matter thus : For such a Proceeding seems highly necessary, in order to preserve that Admiration and Respect, which is due to Religion ; and which, upon any other Terms, would very hardly have been paid to it. For Religion ought to be entertained and embraced with Holy Reverence, and great Authority ; and therefore, with some degree of Difficulty too. For Reason and Experience may soon convince us, that if it were in every Circumstance suited to the Palate, and of a Size with the natural Apprehensions

* Captivantes intellectum ad obsequium Fidei.

of Mankind ; if it carried nothing at all of Miracle or Myſtery in it ; as it would be more eaſily, ſo likewiſe it would be leſs reſpectfully, received. And ſo much as you bring it nearer to the Level of common Matters, ſo much you certainly abate of that Regard it ought to have, above all other Matters whatſoever.

Now, ſince all Religions and Schemes of Belief are, or pretend to be what I have here deſcribed ; foreign from, and far above the Common Senſe and Capacity of Mankind ; they muſt not, they cannot be received, or take Poſſeſſion of us by any Human and Natural Means. (For had the Caſe been thus, the moſt exalted Minds would have been in proportion eminent for Religion, and ſo many Men of Wit and Judgment in other Things, could never have been defective here) but theſe Notions muſt needs have been conveyed into Mens Minds, by ſupernatural and extraordinary Methods, by Revelation from Heaven ; and the Perſons that receive and imbibe them, muſt needs have them by the ſecret Teachings and Inſpiration of God. And thus you find, that All who believe, and profeſs Religion, ſay ; for all of them do in effect aſſume to themſelves that Declaration of the Apoſtle ; *Not of Men, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

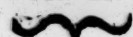
8.
Why they are not to be received by Human Means.

Gal. i. 1,
12.

But, if we lay aſide all Flattery and Diſguiſe, and ſpeak freely to the Point, there will be found very little, or nothing at the bottom of all theſe mighty Boaſtings. For, whatever Men may ſay or think to the contrary, it is manifeſt, that all ſorts of Religion are handed down and received by Human Methods. This Obſervation is true in its very utmoſt

9.
But yet ſo they are.

Book II.



most Sense and Extent, of all false and counterfeit Persuasions; for These when searched to the Bottom, are no better than Diabolical Delusions, or Human Inventions: But true Religion, as it is derived down to us from a higher Original, so it moves us by other Springs, and is received after a very different manner. And here, to get a right Understanding of this Matter, we must distinguish between the first Publication of the Truth, that Reception, which made it general, and gave it a Settlement in the World; and that particular one, by which private Persons embrace and come into it, when already establish'd. The former of These which first fix'd this Heavenly Plant, was altogether miraculous and divine; and agrees punctually with the Evangelist's Account, *The Lord working with the Apostles and Preachers, and confirming the Word with Signs following.* But the latter must be acknowledged in great Measure human, and private Mens Faith and Piety to be wrought by common and ordinary Means. This seems to be sufficiently plain, first, from the Manner of Religion's getting ground in the World, and that, whether we regard the first general Planting of any Persuasion, or the Method of its gaining now upon private Persons. For, whence is the daily Increase of any Sect? Does not the Nation to which we belong; the Country where we dwell, nay, the Town, or the Family in which we were born, commonly give us our Religion? We take that which is the Growth of the Soil; and whatever we were born in the midst of, and bred up to, that Profession we still keep. We are circumcised, or baptized, *Jews*, or *Christians*, or *Mahometans*, before we can be sensible that we are Men; so that Religion is not the
Generality

Generality of People's Choice, but their Fate; not so much their own Act and Deed, as the Act of others for, and upon them. * The Man is made a * Member of the *Jewish* or *Christian* Communion without his Knowledge, because he is descended of *Jewish* or *Christian* Parents, and in a Country where this or that Persuasion obtains most. And would not this, do you think, have been his Case, if born in any other Part of the World? Would not the same Person have been a *Pagan* or *Mahometan*, if born where Heathen Idolatry, or *Mahometanism* prevailed? But now as to the Observance, and living up to the Precepts of Religion; those who are true and pious Professors, besides the external Profession of the Truth, they have the Advantage of the Gifts and Graces of God, the Assistance and Testimony of the Holy Ghost, common to all, and from which, even the mistaken are not utterly excluded. This indeed is a Privilege, which (blessed be God) is capable of being very usual and frequent, and many great Pretensions and pompous Boasts are made of it. But yet I vehemently suspect, notwithstanding all the fair Shew, and plausible Pretences Men make of this kind, this Grace and Spirit is not so largely and so commonly enjoyed, nor so strong in its Influences and Effects, as Some would have us believe. For surely were This so powerful in us, and were Religion our own free Choice, and the Result of our own Judgment, the Life and Manners of Men could not be at so vast a Distance and manifest Disagreement from their Principles; nor could they, upon every slight and common Occasion, act so directly contrary to the whole Tenor and Design of their Religion. And this Inconsistence of Faith and Manners is also a Proof, that

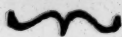
Chap. 5.

See the Notes, p.

753.

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Book II.

Matth.
xvii. 20.

our Faith is not from God; for were this planted and fastened in our Minds by so powerful a Hand as his, it could not be in the Power of any Accident or Temptation to shake, or unsettle us; so firm and strong a Band could not so easily be broken or burst through. Were there the least Touch, the smallest Ray of Divine Illumination, This Light would shine in every Action of our Lives, and dart it self into every Corner of our Souls; the Effects of it would appear in all our Behaviour, and not only be sensible, but wonderful and amazing too, according to what Truth himself said upon Occasion to his Disciples; *If ye had Faith but as a Grain of Mustard-Seed, ye shall say to this Mountain, Remove hence, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible to you.* But alas! if we look abroad, and consider the Behaviour of the World; what Proportion, what Correspondence can we find, between the Belief of the Soul's Immortality and a Future Judgment; and the Practices of Mankind? Would Men, could Men indeed lead the Lives they do, and at the same time be persuaded in good Earnest, that a Recompence awaits them hereafter; so glorious and happy on the one hand, or so full of Misery and Shame on the other? One single Thought, and the bare Idea of those Things, which Men profess so firmly to believe, would perfectly confound, and scare wicked Men out of their Wits. There have been Instances of very strange Effects wrought upon Persons, only by the Apprehension of publick Justice; the Fear of dying by the Hands of a Common Executioner, or some other Accident full of Misfortune and Reproach; and yet, What are all these Calamities, in comparison of those Horrors, which,

which, Religion telis us, will be the Sinner's Portion hereafter? And is it possible, that these Things should be entertained and believed indeed, and Men continue what they are? Can a Man seriously hope for a Blessed Immortality, make This the Object of his Expectations and Desires, and yet at the same time live in a slavish Dread of Death, which he knows is the necessary, the only Passage that can lead him to it? Can a Christian fear and live under the Apprehensions of Eternal Death and Punishment, and yet indulge himself in those very Vices, which that very Hell he believes, is ordained to avenge? These are most unaccountable Stories, and Things as incompatible as Fire and Water. Men tell the World that they believe these Doctrines, nay, they persuade themselves that they do really believe them; and then they endeavour to proselyte others, and make them believe so too; but alas! there is nothing in all this; nor do they, who talk and act thus inconsistently, know what it is to Believe. Such Professors, as these, are what an antient Writer called them, Liars and Cheats; or, as another express'd himself very well upon the like Occasion, who reproach'd the Christians with being the gallantest Men in the World in some Respects, but the pitifullest, and most contemptible Wretches in others. For, says he, If you consider the Articles of their Belief, you will think them more than Men; but if you examine their Lives and Conversations, you will find them worse than Brutes, more filthy than the very Swine. Now certainly, if we were wrought upon by such becoming Impressions of God and Religion, as are the Effects of Grace, and an Engagement so forcible, as these of a Divine Power;

Book II.

Power; nay, were we but persuaded of those Matters by a bare, simple, and common Assent, such an historical Faith, as we credit every Vulgar Relation of Matters of Fact with; did we but allow the same Deference to what we call the Word of God, which we pay to the Advice, and Exhortations, and common Discourse of our Friends and Acquaintance; the Doctrines of the Gospel could not but be preferred by us, infinitely above any other Advantages whatsoever, for the sake of that incomparable Goodness and Excellence, so illustriously visible in every Part of them. But sure the least we can be imagined capable of in this Case, would be to admit them into an equal Share of our Affection and Esteem, with Honours, or Riches, or Friends, or any kind of Allurements this World can pretend to seduce us by. And yet, all this notwithstanding, there are but very few, who are not more afraid to offend a Parent, or a Master, or a Friend, than they are of incurring the Displeasure of an Almighty God; And who would not rather chuse to act in Contradiction to an Article of Religion, and so forfeit Heaven hereafter, than to break the Measures of worldly Interest and Prudence, at the Expence of what they stand possessed of in present. This is indeed a great Wickedness and Misfortune; but for Persons who consider Things impartially, Christianity will not suffer in Their Esteem. The Honour and Excellence, the Purity and Sublime Powers of Religion are no more impaired or polluted by it, than the Rays of the Sun contract Defilement from the Dunghils they shine upon. For Principles are not to be tried by their Professors, but the Professors by their Principles. But we can never exclaim sufficiently

ficiently against those vile Men, who profane the Truth by their vicious Lives; and against whom that very Truth it self hath denounced so many Woes, and such dreadful Vengeance.*

Now, the first Step towards informing our selves, What the Nature of true Piety is, will be to distinguish it from that, which is false and counterfeit, and only the Mask and Disguise of Religion. Till this be done, we shall but confound ourselves with equivocal and ambiguous Terms; and prevaricate, both in Expression and in Practice, as indeed the greatest Part of Mankind (it is to be feared) do upon this Occasion. Now there is nothing, that pretends more to a graceful Air, nor takes more true Pains to appear like true Piety and Religion, than Superstition does; and yet, at the same time, nothing is more distant from, or a greater Enemy to it. Just as the Wolf, which carries some tolerable Resemblance to a Dog, but is of a quite different Disposition; and comes to devour that Flock, which it is the other's Business to defend; as Counterfeit Money is more nicely wrought, than true Coin; or as a Flatterer, who makes shew of extraordinary Zeal

10.
The Difference
between true
and false
Religion.

* Monsieur *Cbarron* hath in this Section put together two Objections against the Divine Origin of Religion, and such as no doubt, do it Prejudice in the Minds of Men, who do not attend to the Reasons of Things, and judge impartially. The First concerns the Manner of Propagating Religion, and Man's first Entrance into it. The Second, that Want of Efficacy which one would expect an Institution coming immediately from God, must needs have upon the Lives and Actions of those who have embraced, and profess to be governed by it.

I. The former of these is urged to be only a Matter of Custom and Necessity, the Fate of a Man rather than his

Book II. Choice; who, if adult, is brought over by Custom and Multitudes, and if an Infant, is presently initiated into the prevailing Persuasion of his Country or his Family, and so continues all his Life long.

Now for Custom, and Multitudes, and Example, it is very evident, this was much otherwise in the first Plantation of Religion, that of the Christian in particular. A Persuasion, which, it is manifest, came into the World with all possible Disadvantages; and the Establishment whereof was one of the most amazing Miracles that ever was wrought since the Beginning of the World. For People had common Sense then, as well as now; and all the Corruptions of human Nature were equally powerful. There was the same Arrogance and vain Opinion of their own Wisdom, to render the Mysteries which are acknowledged above the Comprehension of a human Mind, offensive to the Men of some Learning and more Vanity; the same sensual Appetites and vicious Practices to hold out and stand at defiance against the Precepts of Chastity and Sobriety, Self-denial and Mortification; the same Pride and Opinion of worldly Grandeur to raise their Indignation and Disdain of a crucified Saviour; the same Love of the World and Tenderness for their Persons, to prevent any rash Sacrificing of their Lives and Estates for a persecuted Faith, when nothing was promised in reward but a very distant Happiness after Death. And yet notwithstanding, prevail that Faith did, in despite of human Opposition and Interest; and prevail it could not have done by any other Means than the Almighty Power of its Author and Protector, and the astonishing Effects which the Conviction of its Truth produced upon Mens Consciences. This certainly was Argument sufficient, even to Demonstration, that those Words were not in any Degree misapplied, when put into the Mouth of *Christianity* and its Preachers; *Not of Man, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

And shall it be esteemed any Prejudice to this Religion, that Men do not still lie under the same Difficulties in the Choice of it? When it hath made its own Way triumphantly, and wearied out or won over its Persecutors, shall the Multitude of its Professors, and the peaceable and easy Exercise of it be thought to derogate from its Authority? Sure it is very unreasonable, that Faith should be thought of divine Extract, no longer than while it bids Men embrace it at their peril. The being handed down in Families is a plain and natural Effect of

an established Principle. Parents could not have the Affection Chap. 5.
which becomes their Character, did they not take all lawful
and commendable Methods of putting their Children into the
same Way to Heaven, which they trust they are in themselves.
Especially, if the Case lie between any other Persuasion and
Christianity, which we have Reason to believe is the only pos-
sible ordinary Way thither. The entering Children early into
Covenant with God is a very profitable and charitable Custom,
what he himself not only admitted, but enjoined formerly; and
since he is much more eminently the Father of the *Christians*
than of the *Jews*, we have no reason to suspect they shall be
less favourably received, when as early dedicated to him. This
gives Security that they shall be taught, when their Years en-
able them to learn, how they ought to believe and act; so that
if their Religion afterwards be merely the Effect of Custom
and Example, this is utterly beside the Design of those early
Initiations, where the express contrary is positively indented
for. If Men happen to be bred up in a wrong Persuasion,
there is little question to be made, but great and gracious Al-
lowances will be made for that fast Hold which the Prepossession
of Education have taken. But be they in the right or in
the wrong, it is every one's Duty, so far as his Opportunities
and Capacity will give him leave, to examine and see, that he
may have Comfort and be better established in the Truth, or
else retract his Error: Where this is not done it is a Neglect,
and far from the Intent of Truth; for Truth will bear Enqui-
ry, and the more nicely she is look'd into the better she is lik'd,
the more admired, and triumphs and reigns more absolute.
St. Peter positively commands, that *we should be ready to give* 1 Pet. iii.
a reason of the hope that is in us; and though Men are more 15.
disposed to consider, when their Opinions are like to cost them
dear, yet the Reason of the Command is universal, and by no
means restrained to Times of Persecution only. Every Man
should do his best to obey it, and every Persuasion ought to en-
courage it; and if any do not, but hide the Key of Know-
ledge, either by detaining the Scriptures, or not leaving Men
to the free Use of modest and impartial Reason, these are the
Men who are most contrary to St. Peter, and best deserve the
Censure of Monsieur Charron in this Passage.

II. The Second Insinuation against the Divine Authority of
Religion, is taken from the visible Inefficacy of it upon Mens
Lives; as if all that came from God must needs be effectual

Book. II. for reforming the World. Now this, how popular and plausible soever at first Appearance, yet is an Argument of no Foundation or Strength at all. For the Short of the Matter lies here. Religion was never intended to destroy Mens Nature, but only to mend it; to change Men indeed in their Affections and Inclinations, but so as that this Change should be wrought by themselves. Hence it is, that though the Grace of God be Almighty, yet Man is not a proper Object for its Omnipotence to exert itself upon. For should he be forced even to his own Good, that Compulsion would not only take away the Merit of the Act, but the very Nature of the Person, whose very distinguishing Character is Choice and Freedom of Consent. And therefore God deals with us as he made us, he lets us want nothing that we can enjoy the Benefit of, and continue Men; he instructs, suggests, persuades, counsels, encourages, promises, threatens, puts Opportunities into our Hands, and gives us a Power of using them; but it will depend upon our selves at last, whether these shall have a good Effect or not. We can do no Good without him, but neither will he do it without us, nor indeed, according to the present Scheme and Constitution of Things, is it at all conceivable how he can. So that the Actions of Men not answering the Efficacy which might be expected from the Revelation of an Almighty God, is no Argument against those Principles coming from him, which are not better obeyed; because this is not a Case for him to exert his Almighty Power in: And though he wrought many Miracles formerly, for the Confirmation of the Truth by virtue of that Power, yet we never find that he ever used that Power for the forcing a Belief of those Miracles; but Men were left to their own Consideration and Liberty, what Interpretation they would make of them; and as they determined themselves, Belief or more obstinate Infidelity was the Effect of it.

Nor is it true, that wicked Men do not believe Religion; it is but too sure, that they endeavour as much as they can not to believe it, when Matters are come to that pass that the Belief of it grows uneasy to them. It is indeed confessed, that our Persuasion is the very Spring upon which all our Actions move. But then there must a Distinction be made between the Habit and the Act of Faith. For a Man may entertain an Opinion, and yet do some things contrary to it, because that Opinion may not in the Instant of Action occur to him; and then, as

to all Effect indeed, it is the same as if he thought it not. Thus a Man may believe Christianity, but through the Strength of Passion, through the Surprize or Violence of a Temptation, through Rashness or Incogitancy, Multitude and Intricacy of Business, inordinate Affection to the World, or the like, he may not attend to what he believes, or he may not consider it sufficiently, or not allow the Future its due Weight, when set against the Present. Now though such a Person, as to all the Purposes of doing well, be *pro hic & nunc* as an Infidel; yet there is a great Difference between him in the general, and one who does not believe at all. This Man, though he does not act in consistence with himself, hath yet a dormant Habit, which when the Paroxysm is off, the Temptation removed, the Passion abated, or the like, may by Recollection and sober Sense be awaken'd; and then it will at least check him for what is past, and may (till he hath sinned himself past feeling) be a considerable Restraint upon him. But the other hath nothing to inform, nothing to controul him; and though a Man in Sleep may appear to the Standers by to be dead, yet we know what Difference there is in the Thing itself. This I take to be a sufficient Account of even good Mens sinning often, and some bad Men doing it very scandalously, and yet retaining the Faith; which if pursued through all its Consequences, and applied closely and warmly to their Consciences, would shew them the abominable Contradiction they live in to their own Minds, and make them quite another sort of Persons.

From hence I suppose the Reader will naturally draw to himself the following Reflections.

1. That Men are not wrought upon by Things as they are in themselves, but by their own Apprehensions of them. They act by the Dictates of their own Minds, and as they are persuaded. It is not the Happiness of Heaven or the Misery of Hell, that excites to any one good, or affrights from any one evil Action in their own Nature; but the Idea, and as I conceive of them. And consequently, in proportion as I desire the one, and dread the other, such will my Care be to practise, or to decline those Things, to which the Promises and Threatnings of God are annexed.

2. That to make this Persuasion effectual, it is necessary it should be present to the Mind. For that which is not present at the Time of Action, is to all effect for that Time as if it were not. This shews the Necessity of Meditation, and much

Book II.

Thought upon the Principles of and Motives to Religion; since Faith will not, cannot work by barely being assented to, but by being vigorously and lively impressed upon the Conscience, warm, and ready upon every new Assault. And this gives us a very rational Account how it is possible, and why it should be common, for a Man to entertain all the Principles of a true Faith, and upon Premeditation be able to say as much for it as is possible; nay, to persuade himself as well as others, that he is a very sincere Believer, and yet lead a Life very contrary to that Belief. For this proceeds from his thinking a hearty Assent to the Truth of a Doctrine sufficient; and it is so indeed to denominate him a Professor; whereas to make him a good Man that Assent signifies little, unless it be followed and frequently inculcated, so as to season his Mind thoroughly, and upon all Occasions to be at hand, and vigorous and fresh; for without these Qualities it can never be a Principle of Action.

3. That consequently the Inconsistence of Mens Lives with their Profession can be no just Objection against Religion; because the Fault plainly lies not in the Principles, but in Mens Neglect to improve them. And when we would be convinced of the Goodness of any Persuasion, we are to judge the *Tree by its Fruits*; (not the Faith by the Practices it produces actually in Mens Lives, as that Expression is frequently misapplied, but) by the good Actions it would produce, if Men would let it have a due Influence upon them, follow it as far as it will carry them, and live up to what they profess. The Men who do otherwise are very blameable, and lay a Stumbling-block before the weak, by bringing Dishonour upon Religion, and tempting them to suspect its Power and Excellence: But it is only the weak who stumble at it; for there is not, nor ever was in the Affairs of Religion or of any other Kind, any Scheme of Rules or Opinions, where all the Persons who made Profession of them acted in all Points accordingly. And at this rate all manner of Goodness and Virtue, natural as well as acquired and revealed, must be questioned and exploded; and the very first Dictates of human Nature will not escape the same Fate. Of such eternal Equity and Truth is that old Axiom, *Fides non è Personis, sed contrà*. And the Christian Faith will sufficiently clear its own Divine Original, if we will but give it free Course, and suffer it to draw us to a Resemblance of that Excellence, which first inspired and taught it.

Zeal and Affection, but is in reality nothing less than that true Friend he desires to be thought. It is no injudicious Character given by *Tacitus*; when he describes a sort of Men, * *extremely liable to Superstition, and at the same time violently averse to Religion.* Superstition is likewise envious and jealous to the last Degree, affectedly officious and troublesome; like a fond Courtezan, who, by her amorous jilting Tricks, puts on more Tenderneſs, and pretends to infinitely more concern and love for the Husband, than his true Wife, whom she endeavours to lessen in his Esteem. Now some of the most remarkable Circumstances, wherein these two differ, are; That Religion sincerely loves and honours God; settles the Mind in perfect Ease and Tranquillity, and dwells in a noble and generous, a free and gallant Spirit; whereas Superstition fears and dreads God; gives Men unworthy and injurious Apprehensions of his Majesty; perplexes and scares the Man, and is indeed the Disease of a weak and mean, a timorous and narrow Soul. † *It is (according to St. Augustin's Account of it) all over Error and Phrensy; lives in Terror of those whom it ought love; dishonours and affronts those whom it pretends to respect and adore; it is the Sickness of a little and feeble Mind: He that is once tainted with Superstition can never more enjoy Peace and Rest. Varro's Observation is, That religious Men serve God out of Reverence, but the superstitious out of Horror and perpetual Dread of*

* Gens Superstitioni obnoxia, Religionibus adversa.

† Superstitio Error insanus. Amandos timet; quos colit violat: Morbus pusilli animi. Qui Superstitione imbutus est, quietus esse nusquam potest. Varro ait, Deum à Religioso veneri, à Superstitioso timeri.

Book II. *him.* But we will be a little more particular upon each of these Qualities.

II. *Superstition described.* The superstitious Person is one who neither lets himself nor any thing else be quiet, but is eternally teasing and troublesome both to God and Man. The Ideas he entertains of God represent him as an ill-natur'd, and morose, and envious, and a spiteful Being; unreasonable, rigorous, and hard to be pleased, quickly provoked, but long before he is reconciled again; one that takes notice of our Actions after the same manner that we commonly observe those of one another, with a sort of malicious Curiosity, watchful to find Faults, and glad to take the Advantage of any Failings. All this, it is true, he does not own, nor speak it out; but the Manner of his serving God sufficiently declares and speaks it for him; for that is agreeable and exactly of a piece with these Notions. He trembles and quakes for Fear, hath no Enjoyment of himself, nor any Degree of Comfort or inward Security; full of Fears and melancholy Distrusts; always fancying that he hath done too little, and left somewhat undone, for want of which all the rest will signify nothing. He very much questions whether God be satisfied with his best Endeavours, and in this Disquiet he applies himself to Methods of Courtship and Flattery; tries to appease and gain upon him by the Length and Importunity of his Prayers, to bribe him with Vows and Offerings; fancies Miracles to himself, easily believes and takes upon Trust the counterfeit Pretensions of this kind from others; applies every Event to his own Case, and interprets those that are most ordinary and natural, as expressly meant and directed to him, by the

the particular and immediate Hand of God; he Chap. 5.
catches greedily at every Novelty, and runs after
every new Pretender to Light and Revelation.

* *Two inseparable Qualities of superstitious People*
(says one) *are, Excess of Fear, and Excess of Devotion.* Now what in truth is all this, but to torment one's self most immoderately, and at the expence of infinite Trouble and Disquiet, to injure and affront God, to deal with him after a most base, sordid, and unworthy Manner; to use him as if he were a mercenary Being, and to treat the Majesty of Heaven and Earth, as we durst not presume to use a Man of Quality and Honour? And indeed, generally speaking, not only Superstition, but most other Errors and Defects in Religion, are owing chiefly to Want of right and becoming Apprehensions of God. We debase and bring him down to us, compare and judge him by our selves, cloath him with our Infirmities and unaccountable Humours, and then proportion and suit our Worship and Services accordingly. What horrid Profanation and Blasphemy is this?

And yet as detestable a Vice, as dangerous a Disease as this is, it is in some Measure natural, and all Mankind have more or less Inclination to it. ^{12.}
Plutarch laments the Weakness of human Nature, in that it never keeps a due Medium, nor stands firm upon its Feet; but is eternally leaning and tottering to one or other Extreme. For in truth, either it declines and degenerates into Superstition and Vanity, and mistaken Religion; or else it hardens itself in a Neglect of God, and a Con-

It is natural.

* Duo Superstitiosis propria, nimius Timor, nimius Cultus.
tempt

Book II. tempt of all Religion. We are all of us like a
 ~~~~~ silly jilted Husband, that is put upon by some gross  
 Cheat of an infamous Woman; and takes more  
 Delight in her little studied Arts to cajole and bub-  
 ble him, than he finds Satisfaction with his own  
 virtuous Wife, who serves and honours him with  
 all the genuine Modesty and affected Tenderneſs  
 becoming her Character. Juſt thus are we abuſed  
 by the large Pretences of Superſtition, and prefer  
 it before the leſs ſhowy and pompous Charms of  
 true Religion.

13.  
 Common.

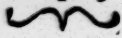
It is alſo exceeding frequent and common; we  
 cannot wonder the Vulgar ſhould be infected with  
 it, after what hath been ſaid of its proceeding  
 from Weakneſs of Mind, from Ignorance, or ve-  
 ry miſtaken Notions of the Divine Nature. Up-  
 on all which Accounts we may well ſuppoſe it is,  
 that Women and Children, old Men and ſick Per-  
 ſons, or People ſtunn'd with any violent Misfor-  
 tune, or under the Surprize and Oppreſſion of  
 ſome uncommon Accident, are obſerved to labour  
 moſt under this Evil. The ſame hath been like-  
 wiſe obſerved by *Plutarch* of rude and uncivilized  
 Countries. \* *The Barbarians*, ſays he, *are natu-  
 rally diſpoſed to be ſuperſtitious*. Of Superſtition  
 then it is, and not of Religion and true Piety, that  
 what we commonly repeat after *Plato* muſt be un-  
 derſtood; where he ſays, that the Weakneſs and  
 Cowardice of Mankind firſt brought Religion in-  
 to Practice and Eſteem; and that upon this Ac-  
 count, Children, and Women, and old People,

\* Inclinant naturâ ad Superſtitionem Barbari.

PLUT. in *Sertorio*.

were most apt to receive religious Impressions, more nice and scrupulous, and more addicted to Devotion than others. This, I say, is true of Superstition and mistaken Devotion; but we must not entertain any such dishonourable Thoughts of true and perfect Religion. This is of a nobler Descent, its Original truly divine; it is the Glory and Excellence, not the Imperfection of Reason and Nature; and we cannot be guilty of greater Injustice to it, than by assigning such wretched Causes for its Beginning and Increase, and drawing so scandalous a Pedigree for its Extract.

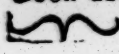
Chap. 5.



Now, besides those first Seeds and general Tendencies to Superstition, which are derived from Nature and common to Mankind, there are large Improvements and Additions of this Vice, owing to Industry and Cunning. For many People support and cherish it in themselves; they give it Countenance and nurse it up in others, for the sake of some Convenience and Advantage to be reaped from it. It is thus, that great Persons and Governors, though they know very well the Folly and Baseness of it, yet never concern themselves with putting a stop, or giving any Disturbance to it; because they are satisfied this is a proper State-Tool to subdue Mens Minds, and lead them tamely by the Nose. For this Reason it is, that they do not only take good care to nourish and blow up that Spark which Nature hath already kindled; but when they find Occasion, and upon some pressing Emergencies, they set their Brains on work to forge and invent new and unheard of Follies of this kind. This we are told was a Stratagem made use

14.  
*Cherished  
by Reason  
and Policy.*



Book II. use of by *Scipio, Sertorius, Sylla*, and some other  
 eminent Politicians.

\* *Who by false Terrors, freeborn Souls debase;  
 And paint Religion with so grim a Face,  
 That it becomes the Scourge and Plague of Hu-  
 man Race.* }

† *Nothing keeps the Multitude under so effectually as  
 Superstition.*

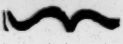
<sup>15.</sup>  
*An Intro-  
 duction to  
 the Descri-  
 ption of  
 true Reli-  
 gion.* But enough of this wretched People, and that  
 base Superstition, which, like a common Nui-  
 sance, ought to be detested by that Scholar of  
 mine, whom I am now instructing, and attempt-  
 ing to accomplish in the Study of Wisdom. Let  
 us leave them groveling in their Filth, and be-  
 take ourselves now to the Search of True Religion  
 and Piety; of which I shall here endeavour to give  
 some Strokes and rude Lines; which, like so  
 many little Rays of Light, may be of some  
 use at least, and help to guide us in the pursuit of  
 it. Now from the former Considerations it does,  
 I hope, sufficiently appear, that of the great Va-  
 riety of Persuasions at present, or any possible to  
 be instituted, Those seem to challenge the Pre-  
 eminence, and best deserve the Character of  
 Truth and Religion indeed, which, without im-  
 posing any very laborious, or much external Ser-  
 vice upon the Body, make it their Business to con-  
 tract, and call the Soul home; that employ and

• *Qui faciunt animos humiles formidine Divûm.  
 Depressosque premunt ad terram.*

† *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam Superstitio.*

exalt

exalt it by pure and heavenly Contemplations, in admiring and adoring the excellent Greatness, and Majesty incomprehensible of Him, who is the First Cause of All Things; the necessary, the best, the original Being; and all this, without any nice or presumptuous Declaration what this Being is, or undertaking positively to determine and define any thing concerning that Nature, which we cannot understand; or prescribing too peremptorily, how he ought to be worshipped: But contenting ourselves with such large and indefinite Acknowledgments as these, That God is Goodness and Perfection itself, infinite in all Respects, and altogether incomprehensible; too vast for human Knowledge to understand, or conceive distinctly. And thus much the *Pythagoreans*, and other most celebrated Sects of Philosophers taught long ago. This is the Religion of Angels, and that best sort of Worshippers in Spirit and Truth, whom God seeks and loves. But among all those less spiritualized Pagans, who could not satisfy themselves with so refined a Principle, as inward Belief, and the Exercise of the Soul only; but would needs gratify their Senses and Imagination with a visible Object of Worship, (which was an Error all the World almost was tinctured with) The *Israelites* chose a Calf; but none seem to have made so good a Choice, as those who pitched upon the Sun for their God: This indeed exceeding all Creatures so vastly, with regard to its Magnitude and Motion, its Beauty and Lustre, its wonderful Use and Activity, and the many unknown Virtues and Efficacies of its Influences; that it does certainly deserve, nay command the Admiration of all the World; we cannot think too highly

Book II.  highly of it, while we remember it is still but a Creature; for, look round this whole Fabrick, and (Man excepted) your Eye shall discover nothing so glorious, nothing equal, nay, nothing near, or comparable to it.

The Christian Religion preserves a due Temper between these Extremes, and by devoting both Body and Soul to God, and accommodating itself to all Conditions and Capacities of Men, hath mixed the insensible and internal Worship, with that which is sensible and external. Yet so, that the most perfect and spiritual Persons employ themselves chiefly in the former, and the weak and less exalted are taken up with that which is visible and popular.

16. *Some Descriptions of Religion.* Religion consists in the Knowledge of God, and of our Selves. For this is a relative Duty, and these are the two Terms of that Relation. Its Business is to magnify God, and set him as high, and to humble Man and lay him as low, as possibly we can. To subdue and beat him down, as a lost worthless Wretch; and when this is once done, then to furnish him with Helps and Means of raising himself up again; to make him duly sensible of his own Impotence, and Misery, how little, how mere a nothing he is; that so he may cast away all Confidence in himself, and place and seek his Hope, his Comfort, his Happiness, his All, in God alone.

17. That which Religion is chiefly concerned in, is the Binding us fast to the Author and Source of all Good; the Grafting us afresh, and consolidating Man to his First Cause, like Branches or Suckers into their proper Root. For so long as  
Man



Man continues firm and fixt in this Union, so long he preserves the Perfection of his Nature; but on the contrary, when once he falls off, and is separated by it, all his Vigor and Powers are dried up and gone, and he immediately withers and dies away.

The End and Effect of Religion, is faithfully and truly to render their Dues, both to God and Man; that is to say, all the Honour and Glory to God; and all the Gain and Advantage to Man. For these two comprehend under them all manner of Good whatsoever. The Profit or Gain, which is a real Amendment and Bettering of our Persons and Conditions, is an essential and internal Benefit; and this belongs to Man, who is of himself, and without this, a Creature impotent and empty; indigent and necessitous, and miserable in all respects: The Glory is not so much an Advantage as an Ornament, an additional and external Grace; and this belongs to God only; for he is the Fulness and Perfection of all Good; so absolute and compleat, that nothing can be added to his essential Happiness; and therefore Benefit is a thing he cannot receive. And thus, if you please, you may understand that Angelick Hymn; *Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, and Favour towards Men.*

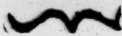
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Luke ii.  
14.

Thus much being premised in general, the particular Steps or Directions in this Matter, must be these that follow: First, It is necessary that we apply ourselves to study, and in such a measure as we are capable, to know God. For our Knowledge of Things, is the Foundation and the Standard

19.  
Piety explained.

1.  
To know God.



dard of the Honour we have for them. The first thing then that we ought to be convinced of upon this Occasion, is his Existence; then, that he created the World, and that all other Beings whatsoever are the Products of his Power, and Goodness, and Wisdom: That by these same Attributes he governs this Universe of his own making: That his careful Providence watches over all Things, and even the least and most inconsiderable Events do not escape his Observation: That whatsoever his Dispensations to us are, they are all for our Good; and that all our Evil comes from ourselves alone. For if we should account those Accidents, which God appoints for us, to be Evils, this were to be guilty of great Profanation, and to blaspheme against his Government; this were to tear up the very Foundations of all Piety and Religion; because Nature teaches us to honour and love our Benefactors; but begets Hatred and Aversion to them that deal unkindly by us, and do us Mischief. Our Duty therefore is to get a right Notion of God's Dealing towards us; to resolve, that we will obey him at any rate; to receive all that comes from his Hand, with Meekness and Contentation; to commit ourselves to his Protection and Care, and to submit all we are, and all we have, to his Direction and wise Disposal.

2.  
*To honour  
him.*

The next Duty, which follows upon our Knowing God, and which indeed results most naturally from it, is the Honouring him. And the best, the most becoming, and most religious Honour we can pay him, consists, first of all, in raising our Souls far above any carnal, earthly, or corruptible Imagination; and then exercising our-

selves in the contemplation of the Divine Nature, by all the purest, the noblest, the holiest, and most reverent Conceptions that can be. When we have adorned and represented this most excellent Being to ourselves, in all the most magnificent Ideas; when we have given him the most glorious Names, and sung forth his Praises in the most excellent Manner that our Mind can possibly devise, or strain itself up to; we are still with all Humility to acknowledge, that in all this we have not done, or offered to his Majesty, any thing suitable to his own Excellency, or in itself worthy his Acceptance; and to possess ourselves with yet more awful and respectful Ideas of him, by the profoundest Sense of our own Imperfections; that it is not in the Power of human Nature to conceive any thing better; though we plainly see, that our most exalted Thoughts serve not so much to shew us his Glory, as to reproach us with our own Weakness and Defects. For God is the last and highest Flight, which our Imagination is able to make, when it would soar up towards absolute Perfection; and in aspiring to this Idea, every Man lets loose his Mind, and enlarges his Notions according to his own Capacity: or rather indeed, God is infinitely greater and higher than all the boldest and bravest Flights of poor feeble Man; a Perfection more exquisite, more bright, than the dim Eye of Mortals can receive the Lustre of, or the most towering Imagination make any approach to.

We must also serve this God sincerely, in Spirit, and from the Heart; for this is a sort of Service which is most agreeable to his Nature. *God himself is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship*

20.  
*To serve  
him with  
our Spirit.  
Joh. iv. 24.*

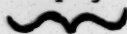


Book. II. *him in Spirit and Truth*, says he, who best knew both what he was, and what he expects from us. This Argument the very Heathens could enforce for inward Purity and a sanctified Mind.\* This he will not only accept, but it is what he seems desirous of, and hath declared will be exceeding welcome and delightful: *The Father seeketh such to worship him.* The Offering of a sweet-smelling Savour, and what he values indeed, is that of a clean, free, and humble Spirit, (*The Mind is a Sacrifice to God*, says *Seneca*;) an unspotted Soul, and an innocent Life. And thus others; † *He that brings the best Heart, worships God best. The most Religious Adoration is to imitate the Perfections of him we adore. The only way of serving God, is not to be an ill Man.* The truly wise Man is a true Priest of the most high God: His Mind is God's Temple, and the House where his Honour dwelleth: His Soul is God's Image, a Ray or Reflection of that Brightness and Glory above: His Affections and Appetites, like so many Oblations, are all consecrated, and entirely devoted to his Use and Service: And his great, his daily, his most solemn Sacrifice, is to imitate, and serve, and obey him. You see how different this is from that absurd Notion of those People, who make Religion consist in Giving to God. Alas! What can we give him? All is his own already; and the most we can possibly do, is but to restore and pay back what his

\* Si Deus est animus, fit purâ mente colendus.

† Optimus Animus pulcherrimus Dei Cultus. Religiosissimus Cultus imitari. Unicus Dei Cultus non esse malum. L A C T A N T. *Merc. Trism.*

Bounty



Bounty hath bestowed upon us. But we are wretchedly mistaken, if we imagine it possible for God to receive any Addition, or be enriched from Men; No, he is above all That; Our Business must be to ask of him, to implore his Favour and Assistance for our Wants and Weaknesses: It is the Character of the Great to give, and of the Poor and Mean to ask; and therefore we may easily discern which of these two Parts belongs to an infinite Almighty God, and which to wretched indigent Mortals. *It is more blessed to give than to receive:* And however he may graciously condescend to interpret those Works of Mercy done for his sake, yet in the way of Sacrifice and Worship of himself, it is a Prodigy of Vanity that many have been guilty of, to think themselves in a Condition of Giving to him, from whose liberal Hand alone it is, that they receive their own Subsistence. Acts xx. 35.

But though the Mind be that which we are principally obliged to offer, and God is best pleased to be served with; yet is not the external Worship and Service of the Body, by any means to be neglected or disdained by us. The Demonstrations of Reverence expressed by this Part, and particularly in his publick Worship, are by no means contemptible in his Sight. He esteems and expects these from us; that we should appear in the Assemblies of his Servants; that we should assist and bear a part with our Brethren in what is done there; that we should observe and conform to those Ceremonies which either the Laws have enjoined, or Custom hath made common: And that all this be done with Moderation and Temper, 21. With our Body.

Book II. without Vanity or Affectation, without Hypocrisy or Ambition, without Luxury or Avarice; constantly possessing our selves with this Reflection, that God expects to be served with the Spirit, and all these outward Services are more upon our own account than his; that they are decent Significations of our Reverence and Zeal, Marks of Unity, and tend to the Edification of our Brethren, the inflaming their Devotion, and encouraging them by good Examples; and that they are very reasonable and decent upon these accounts, though they regard Comeliness and Customs only, and are not the Essentials of Worship, nor of the very Substance of Religion, but Ornaments and convenient Helps to it.

<sup>22.</sup>  
By Prayer. The Vows and Prayers we make to God must all of them be regulated by, and subject to his own good Pleasure. We should never desire, we must never ask any thing, but only with Submission to his wiser Appointments; and every Request must be attended with that necessary Reservation, *Thy Will be done.* To ask any thing contrary to the Order and Methods of his Providence, is as if we should attempt to bribe the Judge of all the Earth, and divert this universal Governor from his Rules of Justice and Judgment; to imagine that God is to be courted or flatter'd into Compliance, that Presents and Promises can win him over, is to affront him: God cares not for our Riches, *for the whole World is his, and all that is therein.* He demands not any Gifts at our Hands; for, strictly speaking we have nothing to give. For All is his, and he only requires that we should walk worthy of those which our selves have so largely received from



from him; he does not expect we should present him, but that we should make known our Wants with Faith and Humility, and receive our Supplies with Modesty and Thankfulness. And by such Requests he thinks himself honoured. But even in these we must be much resigned. For us to prescribe to his Wisdom, to be too peremptory and particular in our Requests, to inform him what is fit for us, or eager and importunate for what we are fond of, is a Breach of that Deference and Resignation we owe to God; and it is often of ill Consequence to our selves; it exposes Men to the Inconvenience of *Midas* in the Fable, and ruins them at their own Instance. The wisest, as well as the most becoming Style, for all our Addresses to the Throne of Grace, is, That he would act with us according to his own Wisdom and Goodness, and always do and give those Things, which are most pleasing to him, and which he knows best and most expedient for us.

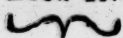
In a word, All our Thoughts, our Words, our Behaviour, and whole Communion with God should be managed, even in our greatest Privacy, with the same Decency and Reverence as if all the World were by and saw them; and all our Conversation with Men should be managed with that Sincerity, which becomes those who remember that God sees, and is conscious to every thing we do, and cannot be imposed upon, tho' our Brethren may.

The making bold with God's most holy Name, is a great and horrible Violation of that profound Honour and Respect we owe to him; and those People are exceedingly to blame, who take it into

Chap. 5.

23.

A reverent  
Use of his  
Name.



their Mouths lightly and promiscuously, and mingle it with every Sentence they speak, and every Thing they do. Of this Nature are all those Exclamations of Passion, or Wonder, or Surprize; all those vain and customary Oaths which we so frequently hear, and find habitual; all those Mentionings of God by Men who do not so much as think of him, or know that they do it; and to be short, all those hasty and trifling Forms of Speech wherein God is called upon irreverently and by the by, for no Reason at all, or for such as is not important enough to justify such an Invocation. For we should by all means take care of being familiar or faucy with so august a Majesty; we should name him but seldom, and when we do, with great Seriousness and Gravity, with Modesty and Humility, with Reverence and Fear. We should never speak of him or his Doings, but with all possible Submission and Caution; and especially, we should never take upon us to judge or pass Sentence upon any of his Actions, but conclude, that whatever he does is just, and good, and fittest to be done.

<sup>24</sup>  
*Conclusion.*

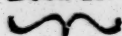
And thus you have such a compendious Account of Piety as I thought necessary for this Place; I only add, that this Virtue ought to be had in the greatest Esteem and Veneration, and that Men should make it their constant Care and Business, as well as Entertainment and Delight, thus to be continually exercised in the Contemplation of Almighty God, with Freedom and Chearfulness, and filial Reverence and Affection; for this is Religion; and not with a Mind terrified, and troubled, and haunted with ghastly and affrighting Ideas of him, which is the Vice and the Torment  
of

of the Superstitious. As to the particular Points both of Faith and Practice, the Christian Doctrine is to be our Rule: For this is the truest, the noblest, the most refined and spiritual, and best accommodated to the Glory of God, the Comfort and Safety of our own Souls, and the general Good of Mankind. And therefore here we must fix, and to this we must stick; and amidst the unhappy Differences of these several contending Parties, who all profess to follow this Rule, the constant Authority and the concurring Sense and universal Agreement of the Church, in all Ages and Parts of the Christian World, is to be our Measure. This is an Authority so venerable, that it requires our Submission with Meekness and much Defe-  
 rence. Here we must fix; and to this we must refer the Resolution of our Doubts. At least all that are of a modest and peaceable Spirit will forbear the being factious and troublesome, and not disturb the Quiet and Order of their Brethren, by starting any Novelty, or engaging in behalf of any private and singular Opinions. And this they are obliged in Duty and Conscience to do, upon the account of the Reasons laid down by me at large in the first and last Chapters of my *Third Truth*; which Places alone are sufficient to satisfy those Readers who either have not the Opportunity, or will not give themselves the Trouble of perusing the whole Book.

One necessary Caution there is yet behind, and he who makes any Pretensions to Wisdom, must by all means attend to it; which is, that he do not separate the Piety spoken of in this Chapter, from that Probity and Integrity treated of before; and

25.  
*Piety and  
 Probity  
 must go to-  
 gether.*





so imagining, that one of these is sufficient for his Purpose, be at no pains to qualify himself with the other; and as careful must he be too, not to confound and jumble these two together, as if they were but two Names for one and the same Thing. For in truth, Piety and Probity, Devotion and Conscience, are distinct in their very Nature, are derived from different Causes, and proceed upon different Motives and Respects. I desire indeed, that they may go hand in hand, and be both united in the Person whom at present I am forming into Wisdom; and most certain it is, that either of them without the other, is not, cannot be perfect. But still they must both meet, and both continue distinct; and though we would join, yet we must take care not to confound them. And these are two Precipices, which must be diligently avoided, and few indeed keep clear of them; for either they separate Religion and common Honesty, so as to satisfy themselves with one of them alone; or else they jumble Goodness and Morality together, so as to make them all one, or at least to represent them as exactly of the same Species, and Effects of the same common Principle.

26.

*Piety  
without  
Probity.*

The Persons under the former Error, which separate these two, and content themselves with one of them singly, are of two Sorts: For some devote themselves entirely to the Worship and Service of God, spend all their Time and Pains in Praying, and Hearing, and other holy Ordinances, and place all Religion in these; but as for Virtue and strict Honesty in their Dealings, Sincerity, and Charity, and the like, and in a word, living in Agreement to their Prayers, and practi-  
sing

sing what they hear and read, they have no Relish or Regard for these things, nor make any account of them at all. This is a Vice taken notice of as epidemical, and in a manner natural to the People of the *Jews*, (who were, above all Mankind, addicted to Superstition, and upon that account scandalous and detestable to all the World besides,) and among them the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in a yet more infamous Degree. The Prophets exclaim against it loudly, and afterwards their own Messiah reproaches them with it perpetually. He exposes that villanous Hypocrisy which made their Temple a Den of Thieves, which exalted their Ceremonies and outward Observances, to the Prejudice of inward and substantial Holiness; which made a Conscience of Traditions, that they might under that Pretence, get a convenient Cloak and Excuse for the most unnatural Barbarities; which tithed Mint, and Anise, and Cummin, but overlook'd Judgment, and Righteousness, and Fidelity: In one word, they were so over-run, so extravagantly conceited in the Matter of external Devotion and ceremonious Observances; that, provided they were punctual in these, they fancied themselves discharged of all other Duties; nay, they took occasion from thence to harden their Hearts, and thought this would atone for other Faults, and give them a Privilege of being wicked. This is a sort of female and vulgar Piety, and vast Numbers are tainted with it every where at this very Day; they lay out all their Diligence and Care upon those little Exercises of outward Devotion; for little sure they are, as they use them, who never carry the Effects of them home to their Lives and Consciences,

Matt. xxi.

xv.

xxiii.

Book II.



Consciences, but pray, and read, and frequent the Church and Ordinances, and are not one whit the better for doing so. This gave occasion to that Proverb, *A Saint at Church, and a Devil at Home.* They lend their Hand and their Outside to God, pay him all the Demonstrations of Reverence and Respect; and a fair Outside it is; but all this, as our Lord told the *Pharisees*, is but a whited Wall, and a whited Sepulchre; *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Nay, they do not only neglect the Practice of other Duties, and take no pains to be all of a piece; but their very Holiness itself is from a wicked Design; they make this Piety a Cover for greater Impieties, alledge and depend upon their Devotions, first to give them Credit in the World, and greater Opportunities to deceive under the Mask of so much Sanctity; and then for the extenuating or making a Compensation for their Vices and sinful Liberties.

27.

Others there are, who run into a distant and quite contrary Extreme: They lay so great Stress upon Virtue and moral Honesty, as to value nothing else; and make Religion and Piety, strictly so called, no Part of their Concern. This is a Fault observable in some of the Philosophers, and may be observed very commonly in People of Atheistical Principles. And surely, it is the proper Fruit of such a corrupt Tree; for that Men should believe God and his Revelations, that they should call themselves Christians, and yet be of opinion, that we are excused from all the Acknowledgments and Marks of Homage due, and paid to God in our Faith and Worship, and that Branch of our Duty



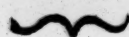
Duty which is properly distinguished by the Title of Godliness, is very inconsistent and unaccountable. Chap. 5.

These are the two vicious Extremes; whether of the two is the more or less so, I shall not at present take upon me to determine; nor will I dispute, whether Religion or Morality will stand a Man in greater stead. Thus much only give me leave to add by way of Comparison, as to three Considerations; which is, that the former, as described in the last Paragraph, and practised by the *Jews*, is without Dispute, by much the easier, the more pompous, and more incident to weak and vulgar Souls. The latter must be allow'd infinitely more difficult and laborious; it makes less Noise and Ostentation in the World, and is more proper to brave, resolute, and generous Minds, for the former Reasons; as being more substantial, and of a larger Compass, meeting with great Opposition, and having less to feed Mens Vanity with.

My Business is next with a second Sort of Men, who confound and spoil all for want of a just Distinction, but perplex these two and the Grace of God, and jumble all together. These in truth are defective in all three. When you come to examine the Matter strictly, they will be found to have neither true Religion, nor true moral Honesty, nor true Grace at the bottom, but by the Figure and all the outward Appearances they make, they very much resemble the Persons mentioned before, who are so immoderately zealous for Religion, that they have little or no Concern for any thing besides; marvellously satisfied with themselves, and merciless Censurers of all the World besides. And these

28.  
*Against  
them that  
confound  
these two.*

Book II.



these are the Men, that make all manner of Probity and good Actions to be Consequent and Attendant upon Religion, wholly to depend upon, and entirely to be devoted to it; and so they acknowledge no such Thing as Principles of natural Justice, or Probity of Mind, any otherwise than they are derived from, and moved by the Springs of Considerations purely religious. Now the Matter is far otherwise, for Religion is not only after it in Time, but more limited and particular in its Extent. This is a distinct Virtue, and not the Comprehension and Sum of all Virtues; and, as the Instances of *Pharisees* and *Hypocrites* here prove, may subsist without them, or that general good Disposition of Mind which we call Probity: And so again may they be independent of Religion, as the Examples of Philosophers and good moral Heathens (who we cannot say had ever any Religion, properly so called) shew on the other hand. This is also, according to the common Schemes of Theology, a moral Virtue, a Branch of Justice, which we know is one of the four Cardinal Virtues, and teaches us to give to all their Due, according to their Quality and respective Claims. Now God being Supreme, the Maker and Master of the Universe, we are bound to pay him the most profound Honour, the most humble Obedience, the most punctual and diligent Service. This now is properly Religion, and consequently it is a Division under the general Topick of Justice. Again, these Persons, as they mistake the Nature, so do they likewise invert the Order of Things; for they make Religion antecedent to Probity: But how can this be, since, as the Apostle says, *Faith*  
*cometh*

*cometh by bearing, and bearing by the word of God;* how I say, can that which is the Effect of Revelation and Instruction, be the Cause of a Thing originally rooted in Nature, born with us, and inseparable from us? For such is that Law and Light of God, kindled in every Man's Breast, and interwoven with the Constitution of the whole Species. This therefore is plainly disturbing the true Order of these Matters, and turning them out of all Method. They would have a Man virtuous and entirely good, merely for the Prospect of Heaven to allure, or the Terrors of Hell to affright and awe him into his Duty. But methinks those Expressions carry a very ill Sound, and speak a mean and vulgar Virtue: If the Fear of the Divine Vengeance and everlasting Damnation did not restrain me, I would do thus or thus. O pitiful cowardly Wretch! What Sense, what Notion hast thou of thy Duty? What Inclinations dost thou cherish all this while? What Motives dost thou act upon? What Thanks dost thou deserve for all that is done upon such Constraint, and against thy own Will? Thou art not wicked, because thou darest not be so for fear of the Rod. Now I would have thee so perfect, as not to want the Courage but the Inclination to do amiss; I would have thee so resolutely good, as not to commit the least Evil, though thou wert sure never to be chidden, never to be called to an Account for it. Thou playest the Part of a good Man, that thou may'st be thank'd and rewarded for thy Pains; I would have thee be really so, without any Prospect of Hire or Gain, nay, though none but thy self should ever be conscious of thy Virtue. I

would



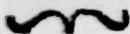
Book II.

would have thee so, because the Laws and Dictates of Nature and Reason direct and command thee to be so. (For Nature and Reason in this Case are but another Word for God; and these Principles, and that Light, and the original Distinctions of Good and Evil are his Will and his Laws issued in a different Manner.) Because the Order and good Government of the World, whereof thou art a Part, requires this at thy Hands; because thou canst not consent to be otherwise, without acting against thy self, in Contradiction to thy Being, to thy Interest, to the End of thy Creation: And when thou hast thus satisfied thy Duty, and acted upon these Motives, never be solicitous for the Event; but persevere in Virtue, in despite of any Sufferings or Dangers that may threaten thee.

When I urge this as the best Principle of doing well, I do not wholly disallow all others, nor utterly condemn that Probity required and cherished by the external Motives of Recompence and Punishment, as if these were unlawful to be proceeded upon. Doubtless they have their Use and Efficacy, are very proper for the reducing of ill Men, who must be treated in a more slavish and mercenary Way; and the Foundations thus laid at first come frequently to noble Improvements. But still I call this a poorer and meaner Principle, and would have my wise Man aspire to something sublimer and more worthy his Character. For this requires a brighter, stronger, and more generous Probity, than the common Sort of Mankind may be allowed to take up with. And even Divines have generally represented such a Piety as servile, imperfect, accommodated to the weaker and more ignorant,

ignorant, and fitter for Babes and Beginners, than for strong and masterly Christians. This farther is very certain, that the Probity wholly depending upon a Spirit of Zeal and Religion, and having no Regard to the Principles of natural Light, besides that it must needs be accidental and unequal in its Operations, and want that Evenness and Constancy which was there largely shewn to be one of its Properties; I add, that this is a very dangerous Principle, and does frequently produce horrid and scandalous Effects; for it makes all the Rules of common Honesty subservient to Zeal for Religion, and opens a Door for all those execrable Villanies, which the dear-bought Experience of all Ages hath too sensibly convinced us, are capable of being committed under the fair Shew and Colour of Piety. And these are really so dreadful and detestable, that we have Reason to question, whether any Occasion or Pretence in the World have done more Mischief, than those false but specious Professions of Religion. The Cause and Honour of God is indeed the greatest, the noblest, and most worthy our Zeal; and if it were not all this in its own Nature, the Abuse of it could never be so fatal as it is. For brave and valuable Things only are Subjects for Hypocrisy; and what is little and despicable, as the right Use of it does no great Good, so the perverting it to wrong Purposes can do no mighty Harm. It is not therefore any Disparagement to Religion, but the confessed Excellency of it above any other Subject whatsoever, that the Corruption and false Pretences of it are so pernicious; were it less good, the Abuse of it must have been less evil.

\* *Such*



\* *Such devilish Acts Religion could persuade——  
If you shall start at these bold Truths, and fly  
Such Lines as Maxims of Impiety,  
Consider that Religion did, and will,  
Contrive, promote, and act the greatest Ill.*

CREECH.

To lay aside all manner of Affection and common Humanity for all Sects and Parties but our own; to look with Scorn and Indignation upon them, as if every Man of a different Persuasion from our selves were perfect Brutes and Monsters; to suppose our selves disparaged and defiled with their Company and Conversation; these are some of the mildest and most moderate Principles and Actions of such furious Zealots. He that professes himself a good and honest Man merely for the Check and Restraints which religious Fears have upon him; and hath no other Motives of Virtue, no Scruples of doing ill, but such as depend upon revealed Promises and Threatnings, is a Man of less noble Principles, more hardly to be trusted, and less to be esteemed or admired. I will not call such a Man wicked, but sure there is more Danger in him, than if he had no Virtue nor Religion neither. Such People would tempt one to think that Religion whets their Passions, and enflames

\* *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum——  
Illud in his rebus vereor ne forte rearis  
Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque  
Endogredi sceleris. Quod contra sæpius olim  
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

LUCRET. Lib. I.



them with Pretences of Zeal, as it did the *Jews* Chap. 5.  
of old; *Whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he* John xvi.  
*doth God ſervice.* Not that I mean by all this to 2.

caſt the leaſt Aſperſion upon Religion, as if it taught, or warranted, or countenanced any kind of Evil, (as ſome who from hence take occaſion to argue and rail at Religion in general, would pretend; for this is not to ſhew their Reaſon, but to betray their extreme Folly or extreme Malice.) The falſeſt and moſt abſurd of all Perſuaſions that ever were, will not own any ſuch Intention. But the Bottom of all this Miſchief ſeems to lie here; that ſuch Men have no Taſte or Senſe, no Idea or diſtinct Notion of Sincerity and Honesty, but merely as it retains to Religion, and is entirely in its Service and Devotion; and withal they know no other Definition of a good Man, but one who is extremely diligent and warm in the propagating and promoting the Religion himſelf profeſſes; from which two Imaginations joined together, they eaſily and naturally ſlide into a third, and preſently perſuade themſelves that any the blackeſt and moſt barbarous Enormities, Treachery and Treason, Seditions and Murders, are not only lawful and allowable, when ſhelter'd under the Colour of Sanctity, and the Protection of a Zeal for the Advancement of one's Religion, but they are even ſanctified by this Pretence; ſo far from deſerving Punishment or Reproach, that they commence commendable and meritorious; and think nothing leſs than a Canonization their Due, if their own Party and Perſuaſion reap any Advantage, or their Adverſaries ſuffer any Damage or Defeat from them. Thus the *Jews*, we read, were moſt unnatural and

Book II. barbarous to their Parents, unjust to their Neigh-  
 bours; they neither lent nor gave to those in Want,  
 and were so far from contributing towards supply-  
 ing the Necessities of the Poor, that they refused  
 to pay their own just Debts, and all this because  
 they contributed to the Temple; *Corban* was  
 thought an Answer sufficient to stop the Mouths  
 of all the World, and he that could make this Re-  
 ply look'd upon himself discharged from all Duties  
 and Demands whatsoever. Let Parents starve, or  
 Creditors be cheated, yet all was well, so long as  
 the Money that should have paid the one, and fed  
 the other, was devoted to pious Uses.

29.  
*Conclusion.* And now, to conclude what I have to say upon  
 this Subject, I will shew you very briefly how I  
 would have my wise Man qualified, with regard  
 to Piety and Probity, which is, in one word, by  
 a strict Union, and inseparable Alliance of them  
 both; and that in such a manner, that, like Per-  
 sons in a conjugal State, each should subsist and be  
 able to act upon its own natural and proper Strength,  
 but yet neither of them should ever part, or be  
 destitute of the other. And then to make the U-  
 nion compleat, and the Virtue as Christian and no-  
 ble as it is capable of being, I desire that both the  
 former Qualifications may be crowned with the  
 Grace of God, which, as I have observed before,  
 he is not sparing in to them who do their utmost,  
 but will be sure to give his Holy Spirit sufficiently  
 and liberally to all them that sincerely and devout-  
 ly ask him.

C H A P. VI.

Of a due Regulation of a Man's Pleasures and Desires.

ONE very considerable Effect of Wisdom, is the teaching and qualifying a Man to be moderate in all his Pleasures, and attain a perfect Mastery over his Desires. For, as for renouncing all our Pleasures, and utterly extinguishing all Inclination, I am so far from expecting any such thing in that Pattern of Wisdom I am now endeavouring to form, that I look upon this, not only as a fantastical and extravagant, but, which is a great deal worse, I verily believe it to be a vicious and an unnatural Notion. The first thing therefore requisite to be done at present, is to confute that Opinion which absolutely condemns and would fain exterminate all Pleasures; and then, after the Vindication of the Thing in general, to lay down some Directions how Men ought to govern themselves in the Use and Enjoyment of them.

There is scarce any Opinion more specious and plausible, more admired by the Generality of Mankind, and more affected by those who pretend to be, and would fain pass for the best and most knowing Part of them, than the Contempt of the World. No Man sets up for extraordinary Wisdom and Sanctity, but one of his solemn and most pompous Professions, is the neglecting and absolutely despising all Sorts of Pleasure, a perfect Disregard of the Body, an Abstraction of the Mind, and

1.  
*Of the  
Contempt  
of the  
World.*



Book II.

retiring within himself, so as to cut off all Correspondence with the World and the Body; raising and refining his Mind by the Contemplation of noble and sublime Subjects, and thus contriving that his Life shall pass away in a State of Insensibility, without so much as ever descending to taste or take notice of its Enjoyments. And indeed, the common Expression of Mens passing away their Time is in a peculiar Manner applicable to these Persons above any others: For they have a Notion that the best Use Life can possibly be put to, is to let it slide over without Observation, to deceive the Time, and steal from the World, as if Living were a most miserable Hardship, full of unavoidable Mischiefs, and a Penance so burdensome and tedious, that he only is happy who can make his Escape from it. Thus these great Sages dodge and run away from the World; they do not only bring the common Methods of living into Suspicion, and cast an Odium upon the Recreations, and Entertainments, and innocent Liberties in common Use, but they even proclaim War upon the Necessities of Nature, and profess an Aversion to those very things, which God in his Wisdom hath seasoned with Pleasure, on purpose to recommend the Use of them to us. They never come in the way of these but with Reluctance, and are rather dragged than move willingly; they keep their Mind still in Exercise and Employment upon somewhat else, and are absent in Thought all the while: In short, if you will believe the mighty Boasts they make, and all the mortified Account they give of themselves, their whole Life is a Toil and a Burden, Death is the only Ease and Solace they propose

1

propose to themselves. And that unnatural Sentence is ever in their Mouths, \* That they do indeed bear and can be content to live, but if they might follow their own Inclinations, the Thing they wish, and would much rather chuse, is to die.

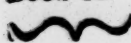
Chap. 6.

But it will be no hard Matter to take off all the seeming Virtue of this Opinion, and to blast the Glories and Commendations it pretends to. For

<sup>2.</sup>  
*This Opinion disap-  
proved.*

when we come to a close and impartial Consideration of the Matter, the Unreasonableness, the great Wickedness indeed, of such a Contempt discovers it self in several Instances. For, first of all, if we consult Nature, and attend to the Condition and Design of our Creation, Reason will teach us that nothing is more graceful, no Duty more obligatory, than the considering and maintaining the Character assigned to us; that is, in plain *English*, the learning to live here, in all respects, as becomes Men. It is in truth a very difficult Study, but withal a most divine Accomplishment, to know how to enjoy and use the Being God hath given us, as he intended we should do; to observe the common Model of Nature, and then the particular Circumstances and Qualifications of our own State and Case; and so to adjust and proportion our Behaviour to the first of these, as at the same time to be guilty of nothing foreign to our private Condition, or any way disagreeable to the Part we are to play upon this common Theatre. We are to follow and to act what is given us, but not to invent and make a new Part of our own Head.

\* Vitam habere in Patientiâ, mortem in Desiderio.

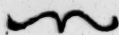


But now these extravagant Singularities, these studied and artificial Essays and Overtures, these Ways of living beside the common Road, are all of them Sallies of Mens own Folly and Passion, and impertinent Additions of such as, because they do not understand their Part, mistake and over-do it. They are the Diseases and Frenzies of the Soul, that put Men quite beside their Senses. They spiritualize themselves, only to be more refined Fools, and while they affect the Perfection of Angels, degenerate into the Stupidity of Brutes. It was wisely said by him in the Comedy, *Homo sum, humani à me nihil alienum puto*; which with respect to our present Subject is, I my self am a Man, and therefore must think nothing that is human unworthy my Concern. For this is the very State of our Case. Man is a compounded Being, a Creature consisting of Soul and Body both; and it is by no means commendable to maim Nature, and take the Building to pieces, by cutting off this fleshy Tabernacle. God hath united, and as it were married these two together, by all the Ties of Nature, and the most tender intimate Affection; and how impious an Undertaking is it for us to create Jealousies and Dislikes, to drive Things to Separation and Divorce, and thus to put asunder those whom God hath joined together? Quite contrary, we should rather tie this Knot faster, by all the good Offices and mutual Assistances they are capable of to one another. For indeed, they are well contrived for such reciprocal Services. The Body of itself is heavy and stupid, and therefore the Soul should animate, and awaken, and render it vigorous and active. The Spirit of  
itself



itself is light and airy, and oftentimes very troublesomely brisk, and therefore the Body is of use to check and fix it. In a word, the Mind should govern, and cherish, and be helpful to the Body, (as a Husband should assist and direct his Wife) and by no means hate or cast it off, or despise the Infirmities and Necessities of this weaker Vessel. It is an unbecoming Niceness and Pride, to refuse the partaking in its innocent Pleasures, such as Nature ordains, and the Laws of God and Man allow for our Recreation and Entertainment. For the Thing required upon this Occasion is not total Abstinence, but prudent Moderation. Man is really bound to make this Life a considerable Part of his Care; to taste the Pleasures of it, nay, to chew the Cud and reflect upon them with Satisfaction; for all this is necessary to give a right Relish and Value of them, and to make him duly thankful, and sensible of the Goodness of that Providence which hath made so liberal a Provision for our Entertainment here below. Do not mistake; there is no Part of that which God hath in Bounty bestowed upon us, unworthy our Regard: Were it below us to accept, it would have been much more below him to give. We shall do well therefore to remember, not only that we may receive it, but that we are accountable for every the least Mite of it. And therefore the Use of Life is no jesting Matter, but a Commission and a Talent, which requires our most serious Care; that the living in Agreement to Nature, and governing our selves by such Rules as result from a due Consideration of it, is an express Duty, imposed upon us

Book II.

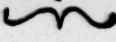


3.  
See B. III.  
C. xxxviii.

in very good earnest, and with an Intent to be severely reckoned for.

And thus much may serve to convince us how unnatural, and how foolish a Delicacy that is, which teaches Men to condemn Actions as vicious, because they are natural; or to nauseate and disdain them, as mean and below their Character, because they are necessary. Whereas in reality, Necessity and Pleasure are the happiest Marriage that ever God made in all the Course of Nature. It is a most convincing Demonstration of his infinite Wisdom, that in those Actions which are of greatest Use and indispensable Necessity to human Life, the Matter should be so ordered, that some agreeable Satisfaction should always attend them; and that our Senses should be feasted, as often as our Wants are supplied. Thus are we doubly invited to our Refreshments; first by Reason and Necessity, and then by Appetite and a Certainty of being gratified. Now your mortified and philosophical Contemners of the World take upon them to invert this Order, break the Rules of Nature, and utterly overthrow this beautiful Establishment. Whereas in truth, it is every whit as unreasonable and unjust to fall out with the World, and utterly renounce all Pleasures, as it is to doat and be fond of all, and abandon one's self to all manner of Excess and Abuse of them. In short, we should neither run after them, nor run away from them. But when they make their Approaches, and put themselves in our Way, we should receive them kindly, love them moderately, and enjoy them soberly and discreetly; in such manner as

will

will be prescribed hereafter, when our Method Chap. 6.  
brings us to the Rules proper for this Occasion. 

He who values himself upon this Abstraction of the Soul, and keeping it in a separate and independent State from the Body, let him give us a Trial of his Skill, when the Body is languishing under Sickneſs, or tortured with Pain; and ſhew that he can at ſuch a time preſerve it free, and above the Reach of this Contagion. Then Experience will ſhew ſuch Attempts as much out of his Power, as Reaſon argues them to be againſt his Duty. For, if we conſider this Matter as in all Equity and common Humanity it ſtands, it is certain the Soul ought not to abandon the Body, nor caſt off all Fellow-feeling of its Sufferings and Diſtreſſes. It is mere Apiſhneſs and Affectation for any Man to pretend to it. The Mind, if you pleaſe, ought to go thus far; it ſhould look both Pleaſure and Pain in the Face, without Commotion or Transport, with the ſame Compoſure of Countenance and Evenneſs of Temper: Or rather let it meet the one with a ſevere and grave Mein, and the other with an Air of Gaiety; but let the Circumſtances of the Man be what they will, the Mind is obliged upon all Occaſions to ſtand by the Body, to lend it Aſſiſtance, to eſpouſe its Cauſe, and keep it in a conſtant Diſcipline and good Order.

Temperance, which is the Rule and Standard of Pleaſure, conſiſts in a Mediocrity, and is no leſs diſtant from a ſullen Inſenſibility, which is the Extreme in point of Deſect, than it is from Extravagance and Luxury, which is the other Extreme in Exceſs. For voluntary Rigor and Torment is unnatural; and 'tis as ridiculous to hate cheap and eaſy



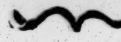
Book II. easy Conveniencies, as it is mad and foolish to purchase expensive and uncommon Delicacies.

5.

The Contempt of the World sounds big in the Mouth; they are very solemn and pompous Words, and such as every Man proclaims his own Gallantry in, with great Triumph. But when we come to enquire into the true Meaning of this Expression, and what there is really in it; I cannot for my part think that the Persons who use the Phrase, know what they intend by it; and much less does it appear, that any of them practise what it denotes, if it have any Sense or Signification at all. For after all, What does this despising of the World import? What is this World, which they represent as so just an Object of Contempt? Is it the Heavens, and the Earth, and in one Word, what we call the Universe, or whole Frame of created Beings? No; these they allow are no such despicable Things. What are we to understand by it then? The Use and Profit, the Service and Convenience, which these Things are capable of yielding us? What monstrous Ingratitude would this be to the great Author and Maker of all these Things, who in Kindness fitted them to our Use, and provided for our Necessities by them? What a Reproach and Accusation upon human Nature in general, which leaves us liable to such Necessities? For after all their Blustering, I would fain know how they can dispense with the want of these Things, or which way they can continue Men, and subsist without them? If then you shall evade this Difficulty too, and say that you understand the World neither in the one, nor the other of these Senses; but all that you make the Object of  
your

your Contempt, is the Abuse of Things good and necessary; that is, the Vanities and Follies, the Extravagances and vicious Excesses, which you see daily practised, and which are the Failings common to all that appear to be fond of living like the rest of the World; I must tell you, that however commendable your Virtue, or the Design of it may be in it self, yet you give it a wrong Name. For what can be more injurious, than to call those Things the *World*, which are no part of it, nor hath the World any Thing to do with them? So far from it, that these are all of them directly against the Order and good Government of the World; and in Truth, have no Being, no Foundation in Nature, but are purely Additions of Mens making, born and brought up within their own Breasts. These are artificial Debaucheries, the Effect of wicked Industry and Skill, to corrupt and pervert Nature; and therefore the preserving a Man's self from these, in such manner as the Study of Wisdom, and the Rules, which you will meet with presently, direct; this is not despising the World, which is not one whit the less, but would be a great deal more Perfect, if all these Things were taken out of it; but it deserves much rather to be called, making a good Use of the World, and behaving one's self prudently in it: And thus Divines make a very just Distinction between using the World, and delighting in it. These Philosophical Gentlemen, I know very well, imagine themselves great Masters, and that they have got quite above the World, and all its Temptations, and Enjoyments, because they practise some affected Singularities, and have put themselves

Book II.

 selves in a way of living, quite beside the common Road of the rest of Mankind. But alas! this is all a Jest. The World hath nothing in it so worldly, and so particular, as these very Men are; there is a great deal more trifling, and playing the Fool, by those that pretend to shun and live out of it, than by them that are content to be thought in it; and if you would find Fondness and Concern for the World in Perfection, you must seek it in those Places, where you hear most of running away from it, and scorning all its Enjoyments. Upon the whole Matter, this abandoning all Pleasures, and stifling all our Desires, is an Extreme as culpable, as abandoning our selves to them. What I say here, is intended as a just Reproof of those Men and their Hypocrisy, whose pretended Mortifications, and particular way of making a Figure in the World, serves only to swell them more with Pride, and fill them with impudent and censorious Malice against all who are not of their way: But I would not be thought to cast the least Reflection upon any Religious Self-denial, or any such Retirements and Austerities as are practised for the Advantage of Piety and heavenly Contemplation. But still I say, to condemn and disallow such Appetites and such Gratifications without Reserve, is the Effect of a Sick Imagination; a fantastical, morose, and unnatural Opinion.

See B. III. on. God himself is the Creator and the Giver of  
 Chap. 38. Pleasure; and our Duty is to receive it thankfully, and not to disparage the Gift, by charging it with Folly. All that we have to do in the Case, is to learn how to enjoy these Things, and to use them safely; to hearken to the Voice of Wisdom, and

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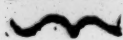
conform our selves to those Rules of Behaviour, which she will not fail to furnish us with upon this Occasion.

Chap. 6.

Now the Direction necessary for this Purpose, may very well be reduced to four Particulars. First, That our Desires be Little. Secondly, That they be Natural. Thirdly, That they be Moderate. And Lastly, That they be bounded within a short Compass, and with regard to one's own self. And these are such Qualifications, as, if these mighty mortified Persons, and magnanimous Contemners of the World would practise in good Earnest, I should allow them to be excellent Men indeed. These four generally go together. And when thus in Conjunction, they make up one perfect and entire Rule. One might indeed contract them into less Compass; and he that is disposed to save his Memory, may comprehend all the four Qualities in this single Word, *Natural*. For in truth Nature, if we would faithfully pursue her Dictates, is not only the Fundamental, but of her self alone a sufficient Direction to us, in the Management of this whole Matter. But however, to explain the Thing more fully, and for the making our Notions more clear and easy, we will allow each of these Particulars a distinct Consideration.

6.  
*The second Part, which concerns the regulating our Pleasures and Desires.*

1. The first Branch then of this Rule concerns the Quantity of the Object, and commands us to desire but little. The restraining our Desires, and cutting them short, so that they shall extend to very few, if any Thing at all, is of infinite Use and Advantage: It is the straightest Road to Happiness; a certain Defence against the Assaults of Fortune; it secures all the Avenues by which she can



can attack us, and leaves her nothing to fasten upon: It is the only Course we can take to live contentedly, and happily, and in one word, wisely. He that can bring himself to desire nothing, the Matter is not great if he have nothing; for even upon these Terms he is as Rich, and as Great, as he that possesses all Things; they come both to one at last; for in summing up a Man's Wants, *\* it makes no difference in the Account, whether you actually have a Thing, or whether you have no desire of it.* For which reason it was well enough observed, that Wealth and Contentment were not to be attained by Variety and Abundance, but by Scarcity and Nothing; that is, by Scarcity of Desires; for he that is Poor in Desires, is Rich in Contentation. † *The want of Desires is the true, the greatest Wealth.* In a word, the Man who desires nothing, hath made great Advances toward a State of absolute Perfection, and is in some degree like God himself. He approaches very near to the Condition of the Saints and blessed Spirits in Heaven, whose Happiness does not consist in having and enjoying all that we value here below, but in not wanting, not desiring, and being above it all. || *He that hath mastered, and confined his Desires, may vye Happiness with Jove himself;* says a Heathen Author. But on the other Hand; if we let the Reins loose, and suffer Appetite to fly out at Pleasure; if nothing but Abundance will satisfy, and we grow Nice and Fanciful in the Proposals

\* Nihil interest, an habeas, an non concupiscas.

† Summæ opes inopia Cupiditatum.

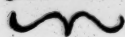
|| Qui Desiderium suum clausit, cum Jove de felicitate contendit.

we make to our selves, perpetual Misery and Torment must be our Portion. Things in their own Nature superfluous will then become necessary and indispensable; our Mind loses its Native Freedom, and is enslav'd to the Body; and all we live for from thenceforward is only Wantonness and Pleasure. If we do not moderate our Pleasures and Desires, and measure all we have, and all we seek, by the Standard of *Reason*, Opinion will carry us away, and run us upon Pits and Precipices, without Bounds, or Bottom. For when we once have begun to indulge our Extravagances, there is no knowing where the Luxury will end. At this rate, for Instance, we may cover our Shoes, first with Velvet, then with Gold, after that with Embroidery, and at last come to set them with Pearls and Diamonds: And thus when we lay the Foundations, and carry up the Walls of our Houses, we may rise from Stone to Marble, and then to *Jaspar* and *Porphry*.

This Method of enriching one's self hath likewise these farther Advantages, that it exposes a Man to no Fraud or Injustice, but is agreeable to the strictest Rules of Equity; and it is also entirely in every one's own Power and Disposal. There is no need of going abroad to seek for Contentment; it dwells at Home; we need but ask our selves, and we may have it: Stop but the Current of our own Desires, and the Thing is done. How unreasonable is all the Formality of Prayers, and Vows, and Wishes; all the Complaints we make of Vexations and Disappointments; all the Blame we lay upon God and Nature, and the World, how wicked and unjust are they; when the Result



Book II.



sult of all is in truth no more than this, that we want something to be given us, which none can give, none can procure but our selves; and which we are so abundantly provided with Means and Opportunities of obtaining, that we cannot possibly fail of it, unless we will be wanting to our selves? For after all, Why should I rather beg of another to grant me what I have not, than of my self not to desire or be uneasy for the want of it? \* *How absurd is it to think Fortune will gratify my Desires, when I cannot ease my self by ceasing to desire? And wherefore should I so far forget the frailty of my Condition, as to indulge my Desires?* If I either cannot, or will not prevail with my self, whom I have a Right to govern; with what Confidence can I pretend to importune others, over whom I have no Right, nor Power, and hope to extort from them, what, without all this trouble of asking, might have come much better from my own Hand? Take this then for the first Rule necessary for the regulating Mens Pleasure and Desires, that the Quantity be rightly adjusted. For this *Little*, or to express the Thing in Terms every whit as true, though more acceptable, a moderate Proportion, and Sufficiency of Mind, is the Thing that brings Wisdom and Satisfaction. This is what will content a wise Man, and keep him always in a State of Ease and Tranquility. Upon the full Conviction of this Truth it is, that I have chosen for my *Motto* those two significant Words; *Paix & Peu. Quiet and a little.* A Fool thinks no-

\* Quare potius à fortunâ impetrem ut det, quàm à me ne petam? quare autem petam oblitus fragilitatis humanæ?

SENEC. *Epist.* xv.

thing enough, he is fickle and irresolute, knows not what he would have, nor when to have done; and consequently can never be contented, because he never knows what would satisfy him. Such a Man is well enough represented by the Story *Plutarch* tells of the Moon, which came to her Mother, and begged she would give her some new Cloaths that would fit her; but received this Answer, That such a Garment was impossible to be made, for she was sometimes very big, and at other times very little, and continually increasing or decreasing; and how then could she expect to be fitted with a Garment, which must always be the same, when her own Body was so changeable that its Bulk was never two Days together the same?

2. The next Point is, that our Desires and Pleasures be *Natural*; and this in truth carries great Affinity and Resemblance to the former. For we cannot but observe that there are two Sorts of Pleasures, some of which are *natural*, and these are just and lawful; they have a Foundation in our very Temper and Frame, and are imparted, not to Men only, but are exactly the same in Brutes. These Appetites and the Gratifications of them are short, and bounded in a narrow Compass; it is an easy Matter to see to the End of them. Now with regard to such, no Man is or can be poor; because all Circumstances and all Places furnish enough to satisfy these Inclinations. For Nature is regular and abstemious, a very little contents her; and not only so, but she is very well provided too, and puts into every Man's Hand as much as will suffice

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Book II.

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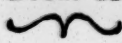
to support him. Thus *Seneca* observes, \* *That the Sustenance Nature requires is always ready, and anywhere to be had; and it is very easy to come at enough for the Supply of our Necessities*; for that which Nature requires for the Preservation of its Being, is in reality as much as we need; and sure we ought to acknowledge it a particular Happiness, and a special Favour, that those things which we stand in need of for the Support of Life, as they must be had or we perish, so they are easy to be had, and no body need perish for want of them; and that the Matter is so contrived, that whatever is hard to be obtained, we can be without it and suffer no great Prejudice. If we lay aside Fancy and Passion, and follow Nature and Necessity, we are always rich and always safe; for these will direct us to such Pursuits as all the Malice of Fortune cannot defeat. To this Sort of Desires we may add too those others, which regard the Customs of the Age and Place we live in, and the Circumstances and Quality of our Persons and Fortunes. For I can easily allow that they should be comprehended under this Head too, though it must be confessed, that they do not come up to the same Degree of Necessity with the former. If we will speak strictly and consider Things according to their utmost Rigor, these are neither natural nor necessary; but if they be not absolutely so, yet they follow close in Order, and are next to those that are. They do indeed exceed the Bounds of Nature, which hath done her Part when she main-

\* *Parabile est quod Natura desiderat & expositum: Ad maximum est quod sat est.*



tains us in any Condition; but yet we are not tied to all that Exactness, but permitted to enlarge our Desires farther, and may, without any Breach of Virtue, desire a Competency, in proportion to the Rank Providence has placed us in. We may, I say, desire and endeavour this fairly and reasonably, but yet with this Reserve, that it is against Justice and Reason both, to murmur and be discontented if we be disappointed in our Hopes, or deprived of the Possession of it. For these are additional Advantages and the Effect of Bounty; all that Nature hath bound herself to, is the Subsistence of our Persons, and we have no Right to depend upon more.

But we must not omit to observe, that there are (as I hinted before) another Sort of Pleasures and Desires which we may truly call unnatural, because they are quite beside and beyond the Bounds already mentioned. With these Nature hath nothing at all to do; she knows them not, they are of a bastard Race; Fancy and Opinion gave them Birth, Art and Industry cherish and improve them; they are superfluous and studied Follies, and must not be allowed so mild a Term as Appetites, but are most truly, and in the worst Sense of the Word, Passions. I know not well indeed, what Title to distinguish them by; they are so fantastical that it is not easy to find a Name for them; but call them if you will, Lustings, Longings, any thing that expresses the Whimsy and Impatience of a wild and wanton Mind. These we have therefore spoken to already, when in the first Book we treated of the Passions at large; all that is necessary to be added here concerning them is only,

Book. II.  that the greatest Part of what Men call Desires, are such as these, and that they are the proper Source of that Misery and Fretfulness we see Mankind so generally disquieted by ; and that a wise Man will think himself concerned to distinguish his Virtue in no one Instance more, than in keeping himself absolutely and entirely clear from any Vanities of this kind.

8. 3. The third Qualification requisite upon these  
See B. III. Occasions is, that all our Pleasures and Desires be  
Chap. xl. moderate; by which I mean, that they should be guilty of no Excess in any respect whatsoever. Now this is a Rule of a very large Extent, and capable of being parcelled out into a great many Subdivisions, but I think all of them may be reduced to these two ; That neither, *first*, our Neighbour, nor, *secondly*, our selves suffer by them. When I mention other Peoples Sufferings, I design by it, that we should indulge our selves in nothing that may any way give any Person Disquiet, by scandalizing him, or ministring just Cause of Resentment ; nothing that may contribute to his Loss or Prejudice, by hurting his Person, Estate, or Reputation : By our own Suffering I mean, that we should have all due Regard to our Health, our Leisure, our Business, and particularly the Offices of our Calling and Capacity, our Honour, and above all, our Duty. And he that is content with being subject to these Restraints, and takes care not to break in upon any of the forementioned Boundaries, I admit to be such a one, as exercises what I call Moderation in his Pleasures and Desires.

4. There

4. There remains yet a fourth Direction, which is, a short Compass, and a constant Regard to one's self. For, besides that our Desires must not be let fly at large, nor our Pleasures run wild without any Check or Controul; the very Course and Figures they move in must be managed and rightly ordered. It is not enough that a Stop be put to their Career, but, if the Reader will permit that Allusion, they must not move in a right Line, but in a Circle, of which the Person himself is the Center. My Meaning is, they must not run out into Lengths a great Distance from us, as right Lines do, but they must have a constant Respect to, keep near, and quickly return again to the Point from whence they set out at first: For this is to terminate in our selves, and to make our own Necessities and Enjoyments the Subject and the Measure of them. And what miserable Work do they make, who do not govern themselves by this Reflection? How wretched, for want of keeping close, and moving round their proper Center, are the Slaves to Avarice and Ambition, and infinite others who are solicitous for Posterity, and contriving to keep up the Family in long distant Successions, or upon any Pretence, as vain as these, run beyond themselves, and are perplex'd for things that no way concern them? Such Actions are properly excentrical and irregular, fanciful and vain; and yet so frequent withal, that if all these unreasonable Projects were reduced, or quite taken away out of our Lives, it is incredible, how great a Part of Mens Cares and Anxieties would be cut off with them.





## C H A P. VII.

*Of decent Deportment and Evenness of  
Temper, in Prosperity and Adversity.*

1. **E**VERY Man in this World hath two Sorts of Fortune to grapple with, a good and an ill Fortune, or Prosperity and Adversity, as we commonly call it. These are the Rencounters in which a Man ought to stand upon his Guard, the trying Seasons when we are most obliged to have our Wits about us, the two Schools by whose Discipline we are trained up in Wisdom, the Essays or Touchstones which bring Mens Minds to the Test, and discover whether they be Standard or not.

2. The common and ignorant Part of the World have no Notion of Trial, except in one of these only; they can by no means imagine, how Prosperity and kind Fortune should possibly make a Man work, or involve him in any Difficulty or Trouble; they hear no Threatning, and so they fear no Danger. They are so transported, so giddy with their Joy upon these Occasions, that they lose all Sense, know not where they are, nor what they have to do, and so insolent that there is no enduring them. And in Affliction again, they are so miserably subdued, so perfectly stunn'd and confounded, that they have no manner of Sense left, but are affected with this Sickness and Feebleness of the Mind, as we generally see Men with that of the Body, who are always uneasy and in Pain,  
can

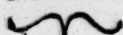
can bear neither Heat nor Cold, but are restless and dissatisfied in either Extreme. Chap. 7.

But wise Men have quite different Notions of the Matter; they observe and acknowledge a Difficulty in both, and think it an Instance of equal Weakness, on which Side soever the Miscarriage happens. And indeed it is the same vicious Defect, and as egregious a Folly, for a Man not to be able to govern himself in Prosperity, as not to support himself under Adversity. But though all Men of Judgment allow a Difficulty on either Side, yet on which hand the Difficulty is greater, they are not so perfectly agreed. Some are of Opinion, that Adversity is the harder Task of the two, by reason of its extreme Severity, and that sensible Sharpness we feel under the Smart of it. So says one Philosopher, \* *It's harder to endure and bear up under Grief, than to deny one's self, and be moderate in Joy*; and another, † *It is a nobler Victory to get well over Hardships, than to temper Pleasures*. Others again rather incline to Prosperity, and think this the nicer and more dangerous State of the two. They observe very truly, that good Fortune charms and gets within us by her Smiles and kind Caresses; that there is Treachery at the Bottom of all this Fondness; that it unbends and softens the Mind, enervates all its Powers, steals away its generous Qualities, and, as *Dalilah* dealt by *Sampson*, betrays the Strength and Vigor of the Soul, and reduces the best and bravest Heroes to the Condition of common Men. And of this we

\* *Difficilius est Tristitiam sustinere, quàm à delectabilibus abstinere.*

† *Majus est difficilia perstringere, quam læta moderari.*

Book. II.



have frequent Instances; Persons who have been firm and inflexible, stood their Ground, and born the Shock of Adversity with all the Resolution and Gallantry in the World; and yet even these invincible Sufferers, whom Affliction could not break, Prosperity hath quickly vanquished and melted down. Courtship and Flattery have effected what Threats and Blows never could, and verified that Saying, That Prosperity is no such easy Matter, but this must be endured too, (how odd soever that Expression may sound) and is really a difficult and laborious \* Thing to be born. As full Ears load and lay Corn, so does too much good Fortune bend and break the Mind. It deserves to be considered too, as another Disadvantage, that Affliction moves Pity and reconciles our very Enemies, but Prosperity provokes Envy, and loses us our very Friends. Again, Adversity is a desolate and abandoned State, the Generality of People are like those infamous Animals that live only upon Plenty and Rapine, and as Rats and Mice forsake a tottering House, so do these the falling Man. Now this hath sometimes that good Effect, that when one perceives himself thus reduced and destitute, and that his own Endeavours are all he hath to trust to, his Courage is awakened, he rouzes and shakes himself, collects and exerts all his Powers, and with wonderful Bravery and Success forces his Way through. In Prosperity, quite contrary, every body is making their Court by Compliments and Commendations, Proffers of Service and officious Assurances; and this is a Temptation to Neg-

\* Magni laboris est ferre prosperitatem.



ligence and Security, we trust to others, and neglect our selves; apprehend no Difficulty because we feel none, and promise absolute Safety, while we see not our Danger; till at last our false Confidences deceive us, and we are sensible of our Error, when it is too late to retrieve it. Thus much, and a great deal more might be urged on both sides of the Question, which I shall not take upon me to determine on either Side: For it may be, that it is not capable of any general and positive Decision one way or other; and the most probable Resolution we can come to in the Case, is in my poor Judgment this; that both the forementioned Opinions are true as it may happen; and that Prosperity is more difficult to some, and Adversity to others, according to the different Dispositions and Complexions of the Persons concerned in making the Experiment. But if we look at the Thing it self, and the Usefulness of it in general, the Advantage seems to lie on the side of Adversity: For this is the Seed and Occasion of great Virtues, the Field in which the bravest Heroes have signalized themselves. For Wounds and Hardships provoke our Courage, and when our Fortunes are at the lowest, our Wits and Minds are commonly at the best.

Now the Directions which Wisdom gives upon this Occasion are, to preserve an Evenness of Temper and Behaviour, through the several Occurrences of Life, and to meet them all with the same serene composed Countenance. A wise Man is Master of his Trade, and knows how to manage his Matters so, as to make every Thing turn to Account; let the Accident be what it will, still

Vir-

4.  
*Both in  
common.*

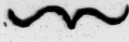
Book II. Virtue shall be the result of it; as the Painter *Phidias* shewed his Skill, in making the same Figure represented, what Form or Prospect soever you put the Piece into. Thus Events are his Materials, and whatever comes to Hand, he will not fail to convert into an occasion of doing Good; and how different soever the Aspects of Fortune may be to him; yet his own Face always keeps the same Air. \* *A wise Man* (says *Seneca*) is provided for Occurrences of any Kind, the Good he manages, the Bad he vanquishes. In Prosperity he betrays no Presumption, in Adversity he feels no Despondency. He neither rashly courts Danger, nor cowardly runs away from it; and for Prosperity, he sets not his Heart upon it, but stands well-appointed for any Thing that happens: He fears no Attack in any Kind; the Hurry and Disorder of the one does not confound him, nor the Splendor of the other dazzle or transport him. Calamities find him gallant, resolute, and inflexible; Luxury and Ease he is not only no Friend, but an Irreconcilable Enemy to. And, in short, this is his greatest Excellence, and the just Commendation and Character of a good Man, in all the variety of human Chances, to raise the Soul, and get above the Promises and Threats of Fortune. Thus Wisdom equips us for the Fight: She puts proper Wea-

\* Ad utroque casus Sapiens aptus est; Bonorum Rector, Malorum Victor. In Secundis non confidit, in Adversis non deficit. Nec avidus periculi, nec fugax; prosperitatem non expectans, ad utrumque paratus, adversus utrumque intrepidus; nec illius tumultu, nec hujus fulgore percussus. Contra calamitates fortis & contumax; Luxuriæ non adversus tantum sed & infestus: Hoc præcipuum in humanis rebus erigere Animum supra Minas & Promissâ Fortunæ. SENECA.

pons into our Hands, teaches us to handle the Arms she gives, and when we are well disciplin'd, leaves us to engage, as the Laws of Combat, and the present Exigence of Affairs require. When we are to encounter with Adversity, she provides us a Spur to quicken us, raises and whets our Courage, calls up our Resolution, and hardens our Mind against it; and thus she inspires us with the Virtue of Fortitude: When Prosperity engages us, she puts a Bridle into our Hand to curb and contain us, that our Flights may not be too bold, but all regulated by Prudence and Modesty; and thus she qualifies us with the Virtue of Temperance. These are the two great Cardinal Virtues, which enable us to manage the two Extremes of Fortune, and are a Preparation sure and sufficient, against any kind of Accident, that can possibly befall us. All which the brave *Epietetus* intimated his Sense of, when he summed up the whole System of Moral Philosophy in those two significant, and most comprehensive Words, \* *Bear and Forbear*. Applying the former to what the World uses to repute Evil, all manner of Misfortune and Distress; for these Things, as Burthens, are to be sustain'd with Patience and Constancy. The latter, of *Forbearing*, to all those, which in common Esteem pass for good Things; the Plenty, and Pleasures, and prosperous Successes of our Lives, all which require Moderation and Restraint. As for any particular Directions suited to the particular Favours or Unkindnesses of Fortune: The Reader must give me leave to beg his Patience, till the third Part of this

\* Ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ Ἀνίσχεσθαι.

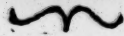


Book II.  Treatise; where I shall have occasion to treat of this Subject more at Large, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. At present I shall only lay down some general Rules, and Remedies, against Prosperity and Adversity taken in the Gross; the Design and Business of this second Book being to extend no farther than general Instructions to Wisdom, without entring into respective Cases, which call for the Exercise of such Rules; for this you may remember was the Scheme and Method of this whole Undertaking, laid down in my Preface, at our first setting out.

<sup>5.</sup>  
Of Prosperity. All the general Instruction, which I think necessary in this Place, with regard to Prosperity, consists of these three Considerations. First, That it is a great Mistake, nay, a great Injustice, which those Men are guilty of, who esteem Honours, and Riches, and other Gifts and Advantages of Fortune, good Things, and reckon them among the most substantial Happiness of human Life. For with what Pretence can they be called Good? They can neither impart nor improve Goodness; they reclaim no Man who lives amiss; nor can they reform one vicious Habit; nor are they peculiar to, or any distinguishing Character of good Men, but distributed promiscuously, and, at least in equal Proportions, to the wickedest and worst part of Mankind. And he that calls them Good in the notion of Happiness, and places his Hopes and his Felicity in them, hath committed his Treasure to a rotten Cable, and anchored his Vessel upon a Quicksand. For what is there in the whole World so floating and unfaithful, as the Possession of such slippery Advantages? They go and come at Random,

dom, no body knows how nor why; flow in upon us, and ebb off again, like a sudden Tide of Water: Like that, they come on with Noise and Observation, are violent and fierce in their Motions, troubled and foul in themselves; and like that too, they presently disappear, leave us drawn dry of all our overflowing Comforts and Joys, and nothing but Mud, and Stench, and Filth, left behind at Low-water.

The Second part of this Advice, is, to intreat Men, that they would remember what the Nature of Prosperity is; that nothing better resembles it, than a Poyson given in Honey; which, though it besweet and pleasing upon the Palate, yet is fatal in the Operation, and certain Death at the Stomach; and therefore that Men ought to be constantly upon their Guard against its treacherous Flatteries. When Fortune smiles upon us, and every thing falls out to our Hearts Desire; then is the Season especially for Watchfulness and Fear; then we should be more than ordinary severe in the Government of our Passions, and draw the Reins tight, because we are apter to grow skittish, and fly out at such Times. Then we should be careful, that all our Behaviour should be serious and compos'd, and above all Things avoid Presumption and Insolence; which are exceeding apt to grow upon us in the midst of Gaieties and fair Weather. Alas! Prosperity is a very slippery Ground, and all a Man's Caution is little enough to stand fast, and tread sure in it. There is not any Circumstance in the World, in which Men are more disposed to forget God; it is the very critical Season that practises Religion least, and yet needs it most. One  
tolc-



tolerable Account whereof, among others, may be this; that you very seldom meet with any fortunate Man, who is content to ascribe his Successes to the Blessing and Providence of God; but all Men usually think they owe their Advancement to their own Merit, and call themselves the Makers of their own Fortunes. Since then this is so very hazardous a State, a Man ought least to depend upon himself in it, and the greater his Prosperity is, the less still is he fit to be trusted. This is the proper Time of calling in Succours, of making use of our Friends for their Counsel and Assistance, of giving what they advise more than ordinary Weight and Authority; and in a manner putting our selves into their Guardianship and Protection. To be short; a Man upon these Occasions should act as he would, if he were walking in very slippery Ways, or upon some dangerous Precipice; he should take every Step with Deliberation and Fear, and beg some faithful Guide to lend him his Hand. For want of these Precautions it is, that sharper Remedies become sometimes necessary; and even Affliction it self often proves a seasonable and very successful Application, to settle Mens Heads that were grown giddy; and bring them back to the Knowledge of themselves again.

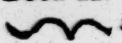
The Third Admonition I would give at present is, That Men upon these occasions would put a Bar to their Desires, and not suffer them to grow extravagant, and out of all measure. Prosperity naturally swells the Heart, dilates the Spirits, pushes us on to new Undertakings, fills us with great Confidence of Success, and will not suffer us to see



see the Difficulties sufficient to defeat and discourage our Attempt: It makes us more impatiently eager of more and greater Attainments, (somewhat like that vulgar Proverb, which says, *The eating a good Breakfast gets a man a keener Stomach to his Dinner:*) In one Word, it exalts and carries us quite beyond ourselves; and then it is, that by grasping at more, we lose all; plunge into Ruin, and make ourselves a Jest and publick Scorn; like the Monkey that skips from Bough to Bough, till he get to the top of the Tree, and then turns up his Tail to the Company. It is really a very deplorable thing, to reflect how many brave Men have been lost, and come to a miserable End, merely for want of Prudence to govern themselves, and check those aspiring Thoughts, which Prosperity and Greatness push'd them forward with. The most advisable Course therefore, is to put a Stop to these towering Imaginations; to move gently and warily; to relish our present good Fortune; and not lose the Enjoyment of what we have already, by being perpetually upon the scent, and anxious Pursuit of some fresh Advantages. For it is one considerable Point of Wisdom, to set up our Staff when we are well; to secure our Ease and Contentment, which can never dwell in that Breast, which is never at rest, but eternally urging its Fortunes on farther, and fixes upon no Period of its Labours; no End where to sit down, and make a final Settlement.

The general Advice and proper Reflections against Adversity, considered in the gross, are such as follow. First of all, A Man should take great care that he be not imposed upon with that general Opinion

8.  
Of Adversity.  
It is not  
Evil.

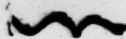
Book II.  pinion (among the common sort of People especially) which represents Affliction, as a thing evil in its own Nature. This is, like most of the vulgar Notions, extremely false and unjust, and the most contrary that can be to sound Reason. They have indeed a strange Dread and Abhorrence of all manner of Adversity; and therefore, to propagate as well as justify this Aversion, they render it as odious as is possible, by running it down, and loading it with hard Names: They call Afflictions, Calamities, Disasters, dreadful Evils, sore and intolerable Evils; whereas in truth, none of these outward Things are either Good or Evil in their own Nature; but of a middle kind, and in a state of perfect Indifferency. Adversity never made any one Man wicked, since the Beginning of the World; but hath proved a very successful Instrument for reducing and reforming Persons very far engaged in Wickedness before; and hath in many other respects been the happy Occasion of very great Advantages to the Persons labouring under it: And it is too manifest to need a Proof, that it is by no means the Mark of Vengeance set upon wicked Men; for the Good have large Proportions also; and no Man can distinguish Virtue and Vice by Events; but all things in this present Condition of Mortality are ordered by a promiscuous Providence, and happen to all Men alike.

9. But though these severe Crosses and melancholy Accidents are scattered in common, and all smart under the same Rod; yet all do not make the same Use of them: The Events agree, But in the Consequences and Effects there is a mighty Difference. In the Ignorant and Foolish, the Reprobate and Obdurate,

Obdurate, their only Operation is, the driving them to Despair; perplexing them with Trouble, and transporting them with Rage: The Extremity of their Sufferings does indeed sometimes bend them, whether they will or no; forces them to strike Sail, and humble themselves; extorts some Prayers and Complaints to the God that smites them; but if they look up and cry to Heaven, this is all; the Effects of it are of no Continuance, nor does all their Affliction make them one whit the better Men. To unthinking and careless Transgressors they are so many lively and sensible Instructions, which by the Sharpness of the Pain, drive them to Recollection, and a second Thought; and in a manner force from them Acknowledgments of God and their Duty. To Men of steady Virtue, they are Trials and Exercises to keep them in Breath, and render their Excellencies more conspicuous and exemplary; to recommend and endear them the more to Almighty God, and exalt them to nearer Degrees of Affinity and Resemblance to his own Divine Perfections. To Persons of Wisdom and Conduct, they are, as Materials in the Hands of a skilful Artist, who will be sure to make somewhat Good out of them; they are, as it were, Stairs, by which such Persons ascend to the highest Elevations of Honour and Greatness: Instances whereof History furnishes in abundance; Persons under most prodigious and unexpected Crosses, such as, when they happened, threatned no less than irrecoverable Misery and Ruin, and yet by a strange Turn, to these very Misfortunes have owed all their future Happiness and Advancement, and had, but for these Accidents, stuck in



Book II.



the Dirt, never come to be significant in the World, but lived and died, and been buried in Obscurity and Contempt. This Observation was made good to that *Athenian* Commander, who cried out upon a like Occasion, *We had been undone if we had not been undone.* (*Perieramus nisi periissemus.*) How full and noble an Instance of this Nature is that Relation of *Joseph* which *Moses* gives us? The Envy and Spight of his Brethren, the being sold as a Slave to Strangers, and imprisoned upon a false Accusation, were so many Steps to the Throne of *Pharaoh*, and the Administration of one of the greatest Kingdoms in the World. It must be confes'd indeed, these are very extraordinary Events, and can be ascribed to nothing less than a strange over-ruling Providence, but still Men are not without their Part in it. For human Prudence is the proper Instrument which Providence makes use of for the finishing these Works of Wonder; and upon this Account that excellent Advice of wise Men ought to be studied by every one in these Circumstances, which is, *To make a Virtue of Necessity.* For indeed, it is a noble Instance of good Management, and the boldest and most beautiful Stroke of Prudence, when a Man can thus far imitate God, as to bring Good out of Evil; when he can give a Turn to his Affairs, and get the Weathergauge of Fortune with such Dexterity and Address, that even ill Accidents themselves shall turn to account, and whatever happens to him, he will order Matters so, that his Condition shall be the better for it.

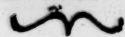
10.  
It proceeds  
from three  
Causes.

All manner of Adversity and Afflictions may be truly ascribed to one or more of the three following

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ing Causes; for they indeed are the Authors and the Finishers of all our Sufferings. The first Inventer and Original of them is Sin; this gave them a Being, and without it they had never existed, nor had any Place in Nature at all. The second is the Anger and Justice of God, who being provoked by Sin, issues out his Commissions, and employs these as the Ministers and Instruments of Vengeance, to execute Wrath upon them that do Evil. The third is the Polity of the World as it stands at present; its Order disturbed, its Administration corrupted, and its whole Frame vitiated and changed by Sin. The State of Nature, by these lamentable Alterations, is like that of a Kingdom under a general Mutiny or civil Insurrection, where every thing is out of its proper Place, and no Part does its Duty; and what can possibly be the Consequence of this but Calamity and Confusion? The Miseries of such a Body Politick are like the Pains and Aches which afflict the natural Body, when its Limbs are disjointed; the Bones bruised or dislocated, and all the Ligaments that should knit and keep these in their proper Duty and Station, loosed or cut asunder. These three Causes therefore producing such dismal Effects, our Resentments towards them should be proportioned to the Injuries they do us. The first is the detestable Root of all our Unhappiness, and this we should hate and avoid. The second is the terrible Judgment of a just and provoked Deity, and this we ought to live in an awful Dread of. The Third betrays us into Mischief, and this we ought to beware of, as an Impostor, and manage our selves as would become considerate Men, to that

Book II.



which they know will decoy them into Ruin. But with regard to the Afflictions arising from all three, the best course of securing ourselves, will be to subdue and kill them, as *David* did *Goliath*, with his own Sword; that is, as I said before, to convert this Necessity into Virtue, to make Advantage of our Afflictions, and retort the very Sufferings they bring upon us, back again upon their own Heads. For Affliction, which is in truth the genuine Fruit of Sin, if well and wisely entertained, will choak and kill the bitter Root that bears it. It deals with its Author and Parent, as the young Viper is said to do with the old one that hatches it; and is like Oil of Scorpions, the Sovereign Remedy for all that are stung by them: Thus Sin is made its own Destruction; and does not only breed the Disease, but provide the Cure. \* *We suffer because we have sinned*, 'tis true; but it is as true too, that *We suffer, that we may not sin any more*. The Roughness of Adversity is like that of a File, it scours off the Rust we have contracted, cleanses and purifies the Soul from Vice and Filth, and brightens the Mind and its Virtues. By this means the Anger of God consequently is appeased, the Provocation removed, we released from the Prisons and Fetters, which Guilt and Justice had bound us in; and brought into the free and open Air, the glorious and cherishing Light of his Countenance lifted up upon us. The Storms are quieted, the Thunder laid aside, and Grace and Mercy, and a clear Sky succeeds. And, then as a farther Antidote against the Third Source of our

\* *Patimur quia peccavimus, patimur ut non peccemus.*

Misfortune,



Misfortune, Adversity weans our Affections, and calls them off from the World; begets in us a Dislike and Dissatisfaction to a State of so much Misery; and the Bitterness of our Calamities supplies the Place of Wormwood, which Providence, like a wise Nurse, puts upon the Breast, to make us loath the Milk; and be content to part with the luscious Delights of that deceitful Life, of which we should otherwise be most immoderately fond.

Chap. 7.

Now one great, and in reality the most effectual Expedient to qualify a Man for this prudent Behaviour in Adversity, and all the valuable Fruits of it, is for a Man to be strictly virtuous and good. For a Man of Virtue is more easy, and hath a more agreeable Enjoyment of himself in Adversity, than a vicious Man hath in all the Sweets of Prosperity. As Men in feverish Distempers feel more Uneasiness from their cold and hot Fits, than those in perfect Health from the most scorching Heat of the Summer, or the greatest Severity of Winter-Blasts. Thus it is with ill Men. They carry their Disease within, and about with them; their Conscience is feverish and disorder'd, and this gives them infinitely greater Pain, than any that good Men are sensible of. For these Persons are sound within; and nothing without can hurt them: That which arms Affliction, and gives it a deadly Force, is the Guilt and Reproach, the Misgiving and Distrust of one's own Mind; the Sense of having drawn what we labour under, down upon our own Heads, and the amazing Expectation of more and worse: But where these do not put an Edge upon, it cannot wound very deep; and how fierce soever the Assaults may be, yet he will suffer but little

11.

Book. II.  by them, who feels all easy in his own Breast; and hath the best Defensive Armour in the World to oppose against them, a Good Courage, because a Clear Conscience.

12. *More particular Advice.* Adversity is of two kinds; either that which truly and in its own Nature is such; what we cannot continue Men and not be moved with; such as Sickness, and Pain, and the Loss of those things which are very dear to us; or else, that, which is not really such, but falsely represented to be so, and owes its being reputed such, either to some general Opinion, and vulgar Error, or else to the private Interpretation, and the Sense of particular Persons. When this is the Case, a Man hath both his Mind and Body at his own Disposal, just as before any such Afflictions happened: And therefore in such notional Calamities, all that need or can be said, is this, That what you make such doleful Complaints of, hath nothing painful, or troublesome in it; but all this is of your own creating, who put on an unnecessary Melancholy, resent things tenderly, cry out when you are not hurt, and fancy Misery, where there is really none.

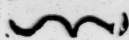
13. *Real Afflictions. Remedies against them.*

As for those, which are real and natural, the most obvious, and popular, and sound Advice is in this Case the most natural and most equitable; and therefore without proposing nice, and studied, and uncommon Arguments, I shall content my self with these few following Reflections. *First*, A Man will do well to remember, that nothing of this kind which he endures, is contrary to the Law of Nature, and the Condition of Mankind; since *Man is born to Sorrow, as the Sparks fly upward*; that is, All such things as these, are very ordinary

and usual; and from his Birth entailed and annexed Chap. 7.  
as Incumbrances upon this State of Mortality, into which he is admitted. Therefore upon every Accident that uses to afflict us, we ought constantly to consider two things; the Nature of what happens to us; and our own Nature; and when once we come to regard things as they really are, and to behave ourselves accordingly, we shall then deliver ourselves from any Vexation or Disquiet, that can arise from them. Vexation and Fretfulness are a Disease of the Soul; a Distemper unnatural in itself, and what ought by no means to be allowed by us. For Nature hath been so bountiful, and so very provident for our Ease, that there is not any Accident possible to come upon us, which she hath not already furnished us with a Faculty to bear, and manage, and convert to our Good; and rendred capable of such Arguments and Considerations, as may very reasonably prevail with us to be contented under it. There is no one Condition of Life so destitute and deplorable, but it hath some Interval of Refreshment; some Solace, some mitigating Circumstance to soften it. There is no Confinement so close, no Dungeon so dark, but some Light will spring in; some Comfort may be found to cheer the Prisoner, and drive the Sorrow from his Heart. *Jonas*, we see, found Leisure for Devotion even in the Whale's Belly, and from thence poured out a Prayer, which God graciously accepted and answer'd. And sure this is a Privilege of considerable Value; and a great Kindness in Nature, that she supplies us with Lenitives, and contrives ways for the qualifying and asswaging of our Pains, even in the Instant of our labouring



Book II.



bouring under them. This ought no more to be forgotten for our Consolation and Support, than that other Reflection, That our Condition necessarily exposes us to Suffering, and we were born liable to all kinds of Misery. For \* *all those Grievances, which we either groan under, or tremble with Apprehensions of their Approach, are but so many Taxes, or Rent-charges upon Life.*

B4.

Secondly, It may be of great Advantage to consider, that, notwithstanding none of us are, or can be absolutely exempt from the Power and Jurisdiction of Fortune; yet we are far from being entirely under it, and that by much the least Part of us is subject to it: The principal and most valuable is still in our own Hands; no Attempts from without can subdue or wrest it from us; nothing can lose it, but our own Consent and voluntary Surrender. 'Tis confess'd, Fortune can reduce us to Poverty, waste us with Sicknefs, harass us with Afflictions; but it cannot debauch our Manners, nor enfeeble our Spirits, nor make us submit to base and unmanly, immoral and dishonourable Actions. And how happy is it that we are thus far out of her reach? how incomparably better, that she should tyrannize over our Riches, or Successes, or even Health itself, than that she should deprive us of our Probity, our Courage, and our Virtue? Let us support and please ourselves with this Reserve; for, while we hold our own, nothing can render us truly miserable.

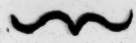
B5.

In the next place, I must beg of Men, that they will be honest, and act according to the Rules

\* Omnia ad quæ gemimus, ad quæ expavescimus, Tributa vitæ sunt.

of Reason and Justice. For the very Truth is, Chap. 7.  
 Men are frequently very injurious to Providence, and complain without any just Cause. For, if at any time a cross Accident befalls us, shall we sit down under it, full of Murmurings and discontented Thoughts? No sure; let us rather recollect, how much oftner Things have succeeded as we would wish; and then compute and compare these, and balance one with the other. And I make no doubt to affirm, if this Reckoning were fairly and impartially stated, but the most melancholy, most unfortunate Man alive, might see greater Reason to commend, and be thankful for the good, the successful Passages of his Life, than to repine at any Losses and Disappointments he may have sustained in it. 'Tis a Reflection full of eternal Equity, *Shall we receive Good at the Hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive Evil?* But it is enough to silence all our Grumbings, and put all Complainers to the blush, when improved with this small, but most true Addition; Shall we receive Good more and oftner, and shall we not be content to receive the Evil, which is but little and seldom? Nature hath taught us to shut, or turn away our Eyes from all such Objects as are shocking or offensive to us; to remove them from such Colours as hurt and strain the Sight, and to fix upon others more gay and agreeable: There is the same Reason here, and Prudence and Duty both oblige us to call off our Thoughts from melancholy Subjects, and to divert them with others more pleasant and entertaining. But we seem to be of quite different Dispositions; to feed upon the worst, and indulge our selves in Peevishness and Spight.

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 Spight. We are like Cupping-glasses, that draw only the foul and corrupt Blood, and let all the good alone; like Misers, that put off their best Wine, and keep the worst for their own drinking; like froward Children, who, if you take one of their Play-things from them, throw all the rest into the Fire, for very Rage and Vexation. Thus upon every little Mischance, we teaze and torment our selves, and for the Loss of a Trifle, cease to enjoy, nay, perfectly forget and overlook all that we have still left. Nay, some there are, such unthankful, such ungodly, such unreasonable Creatures, that you shall hear them call themselves unfortunate in every thing, and tell you they never knew what Happiness or Success was; insomuch that with these Wretches one Ounce of Adversity gives more Pain, and provokes more Complaints than ten Thousand times as much Prosperity excites Gratitude or sensible Satisfaction.

16. Another good Expedient in these Circumstances would be to look abroad into the World a little, and there observe the infinite Multitudes of Men whose Condition is more grievous, more lamentable than our own; to think seriously, and compare our selves with the many Thousands who envy what we repine at, and would think themselves very happy to exchange and be in our Case.

*\* When thou art bending under Fortune's Frown,  
Observe the Ills that press thy Neighbour down,  
And from his heavier Load learn to sustain thy  
own.* }

\* Cum tibi displiceat rerum fortuna tuarum,  
Alterius specta, quo sit discrimine peior.

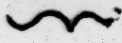
These



These querulous People would do well to consider, and, if they please, to practise that Saying of a wise Man ; That if the Calamities of all Mankind should be brought together, and laid in one common Heap, and afterwards an equal Division be made out of all these, to every one in particular, the Generality of People would find themselves bid to their Loss ; and the Disadvantages of such a Distribution as this, would effectually discover the Injustice of their present Melancholy and Resentment, when they complain of hard Usage, who have less of Misfortune than comes to their Share, upon a strict and impartial Dividend.

17.

After all these Admonitions, we may say with great Truth, That there are two very powerful Remedies yet behind ; and such as are of wondrous Force and Success against all manner of Sufferings and Calamities. Though indeed these two do both amount to one and the same, and differ chiefly according to the Difference of the Persons that apply them : *viz.* Custom and Practice for the gross, and ignorant, and vulgar Capacities, and Meditation for the wise and considerate. Both of them obtain their intended Effect by the Help of Time, which is indeed the best Restorative, the surest and most common Healer of all our inward Wounds. Only it is not applied by all alike ; for the Wise are before-hand, and prevent their Miseries by Pre-meditation ; the weaker Vulgar have a more expensive and painful Cure, and that which in the others is Foresight, is in these Experience. That Custom produces wonderful Effects we see most manifestly, and every Day proves it by ten Thousand Instances ; insomuch that what at first appear-  
ed

Book II.  ed to be insuperable and insupportable, grows in process of Time very tolerable and easy. Your Gally-Slaves, when first put on board, wring their Hands, and Sighs, and Tears, and Groans, are all their Musick; but their Chains grow softer by degrees, and by that time they have plied the Oar one Quarter of a Year, who more chearful and merry than they? Men that have never used the Sea tremble with Fear, when they weigh Anchor, even in the calmest Weather; and yet the Mariners will laugh and sing in a Storm. The young Widow is inconsolable upon the Loss of her Husband, and thinks of nothing but Sorrow and Despair for the Remainder of her Days; but a very few Months assuage this violent Passion, and the Concern wears off so fast, that before the Year of Mourning comes about, 'tis odds but you find her in the Arms of a second Bridegroom. Thus Time and Practice overcome all things, and the greatest Grievance in most of our Disasters, is, that they are new and uncouth; but all that abates of itself, and a little Conversation and better Acquaintance reconciles us very well to them.

18.  
*Forefight.*

Now Meditation and provident Thought hath the very same Efficacy with wise Men, that Sense and Smart have upon weaker. For by representing Matters frequently to themselves, the Images are so lively, and the Impressions so strong, that the very Realities themselves could scarce affect them more. Thus the Things that are not, are render'd as common and familiar, as though they were. \* *What the Vulgar make light and easy by*

\* Quæ alii diu patiendo levia faciunt, sapiens levia facit diu cogitando.

*long*

*long Suffering, the wise Man softens to himself by* Chap. 7.  
*long Thinking.* Let us then sit down, and take an  
 exact Account of our Fortunes: Let us consider  
 the Nature of all those Accidents which are capa-  
 ble of giving us any Disquiet; and let us reflect  
 with our selves the worst, most dismal, most in-  
 supportable that can possibly befall us; whether it  
 be Sickness or Poverty, Flight or Banishment, In-  
 juries and Affronts, Disgrace or Reproach; and  
 examine in all this whole black Catalogue, what  
 there is consistent with Nature, and what contra-  
 ry to it. Foresight is therefore an admirable Pre-  
 servative against all manner of Misfortunes, because  
 by this Attention of Mind we have formed the  
 whole Thing in our Imaginations before, and so  
 they cannot make any mighty Alteration in us,  
 when they come in good earnest. And this is so  
 considerable a Point gained, that you rarely find  
 any great Harm done by Calamities, except upon  
 the Parties who suffer themselves to be surprized  
 by them. Meditation and Reasoning is the very  
 Temper of the Soul; this steels and hardens it,  
 fortifies it against Assaults, and renders it impene-  
 trable against all that can attempt to wound or  
 break it. Let the Accident be never so grievous,  
 yet the Man that stands upon his Guard, and puts  
 himself in a Posture to receive it, suffers but little  
 by it. \* *When a Calamity is foreseen, the Blow is*  
*broken; and whatever was long expected, is less felt*  
*when it comes, says Seneca.*

Now the Method of attaining to this wise and  
 profitable Foresight, is first to convince our selves,

\* *Præmeditati mali mollis ictus venit. Quicquid expecta-  
 tum est diu, levius accedit.*



Book. II. and be very duly sensible how craggy and rough a Standing Nature hath placed us in; that nothing is stable in this World, but we and all about us totter, and are in perpetual Danger of falling; that whatever hath happened to another Man, might every jot as well happen to us; and the Fate which hangs over every Head, may fall down, and crush any; and in all our Designs and Undertakings, carefully to form to our selves the Disappointments and Inconveniences to which they are any way liable; that so, if any of these shall afterwards fall to our Lot, we may not be confounded, as if some strange thing had happen'd to us. Alas! how infinitely do we cheat and fool our selves, by proposing only the fair and inviting Side, and turning all the discouraging Circumstances out of sight? How miserably do we betray our want of Judgment, by never considering, that our Neighbour's Misfortunes To-day, may be ours before To-morrow; that we are by no means exempt, and out of reach. But how foolishly do they argue, who prefer a blind Fool-hardiness before it, and pretend that a Computation of probable Accidents would discourage and put a stop to all Action? As if a Man might not be prudent without Despondency, nor distrust Fortune without Irresolution, and Cowardice, and panick Fear. Whereas, if we would represent Things to our selves, according as they really are, and as Reason directs, we should be so far from Surprise at Crosses and Disappointments, that it would rather appear Matter of Wonder and Astonishment, that so very few befall us, in comparison of what we had Ground enough to expect; and when so many Accidents

are always dogging us close at the Heels, that they should be so long before they overtake us; and when they have us in their Clutches, and we lie at their Mercy, that they should not treat us more ruggedly than the Generality of them do. For he that sees another Person's ill Fortune,\* and regards it as a thing so usual and common, that his own Turn may very probably be next, this Man is armed against it, and hath vanquish'd his Foe before he makes his Approaches. Nothing in these Cases should be left unconsider'd, and it is very advisable to reckon upon the worst; thus Events will mend upon us, and a great Part of what comes will be clear Gains. But it is foolish to sink under a Misfortune, and think to excuse one's Weakness, by alledging, We never imagined Matters would be so bad. It is a very common Saying, *That when a Man is surprized, he is half beaten;* and then by the Rule of Contraries, a Man fore-armed is worth two others. A wise Prince will make Preparations for War in the Times of profoundest Peace; a skilful Sailor lays in fresh Tackle and all manner of Provisions for the weathering a Storm, and refitting after it, before he sets sail out of Port: For when the Mischief is actually upon us, 'tis too late to provide against it. Besides, there is this farther Advantage attends a Premeditation, that let a thing be never so difficult in itself, every Man finds himself dextrous to a wonder, in Matters that he hath been a great while prepared for; Presence of Mind, Prudence in Choice, and Boldness in Execution, give infinite Advantage in such Cases, and almost insure the Success. Whereas on the other hand there is nothing so obvious and easy in  
its

Book II. its own Nature, but Men are confounded and at a loss, if they be utterly unacquainted with it.  
 \* *This therefore should be our constant Care, That nothing happen unlook'd for; because the being new and strange to us, is really a very great Aggravation of any Accident whatsoever.* Thus much I easily persuade my self, that were we in any tolerable Degree so provident as we might and ought to be, all that Amazement and Perplexity would be saved, which we so commonly see in the World: For what is it that confounds thee; Man? You expected the thing, and it is come upon you; Astonishment is not the Effect of having our Expectations answered, but the direct contrary. Let us therefore order our Affairs so considerately, that it may never be in the Power of Fortune to surprize us; let us stand upon our Guard, discover things at a distance, and observe how they make their Approaches to us. † *The Mind should be fortified against all that can possibly happen,* that we may be able to say with that Hero in the Poet;

— *No Terror to my View,  
 No frightful Face of Danger can be new.  
 Inur'd to suffer, and resolv'd to dare,  
 The worst that Fate can do, hath been my  
 early Care.*

MR. DRYDEN.

\* Id videndum ne quid inopinatum sit nobis, quia omnia novitate graviora sunt.

† Animus adversus omnia firmandus, ut dicere possimus,

— Non ulla laborum

O Virgo, nova mi facies, inopinave surgit.

Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ipse peregi.

\* You



\* *You foretel these things now, I have told them to my self long ago; I have all along contemplated them; for I considered I was a Man, and made provision against all that could possibly befall me as such.*

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C H A P. VIII.

*Obedience to the Laws, Compliance with the Customs, and Observance of the Ceremonies in use. How, and in what Sense necessary.*

**W**HAT a Man is in comparison of a Beast, the same is a wise Man in comparison of a Fool; and as the Qualities, so likewise the Methods of ordering and managing them resemble one another. The wild Beasts, and such as live by Prey, will not suffer themselves to be taken, nor willingly submit to the Discipline and Government of Man; they either flee from his Presence, and hide themselves in Dens and Coverts, or grow enraged, and make at him, if he offer to come near them; so that a Mixture of Arms and Artifice, of Fraud and Force, is necessary to tame and make them tractable: Just thus is Folly restive against Reason, deaf and inflexible to Wisdom; it runs wild, grows peevish and angry, and more extrava-

\* Tu hodie ista denuncias; ego semper denunciavi. Hominem paravi ad humana.

Book II.

gantly foolish, when mild Instructions, gentle Re-  
proofs, and cool Arguments endeavour to reclaim  
it; so that Means more forcible are necessary; it  
must be managed and subdued, taken short, and  
kept in Awe, and affrighted into Obedience, that  
by these terrifying and compulsive Methods, it  
may at last be brought to hand, and submit to Di-  
scipline and Instruction. Now the proper Course  
of effecting this Reformation, is by some over-  
bearing Authority, some Power whose Severity  
may be perpetually thundering in its Ears, and  
whose amazing Splendor may be ever flashing in  
its Eyes, and, like some God in human Shape,  
command Submission and Compliance. For, as  
is well observed, \* *Nothing but Authority can pre-  
vail with Fools, to make any tolerable Advances to-  
ward Wisdom.* The Efficacy of this is very often  
seen in the sudden composing of Mutinies, and  
Management of the Rabble, by the Address and  
Credit of some one Person of Reputation and E-  
minence; and proves, that the People are to be  
led by the Persuasion of others, much better than  
guided by their own Judgment: A very lively and  
beautiful Description whereof, *Virgil* presents us  
with in that Similitude;

† *As when in Tumults rise th' ignoble Crowd,  
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud;*

\* Sola Authoritas est, quæ cogit stultos, ut ad sapientiam  
festinent.

† ——— Veluti magno in populo, cùm sæpe coorta est  
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus.

Jamque Faces & Saxa volant, Furor Arma ministrat.

Tum Pietate gravem ac Mento si forte Virum quem  
Conspexere, silent, arrestisque auribus astant,

Ille regit dictis animos & pectora mulcet.

*Æ N. Lib. I.*

*And*

*And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly;  
And all the rustick Arms that Fury can supply:  
If then some grave and pious Man appear,  
They hush their Noise, and lend a list'ning Ear;  
He sooths with sober Words their angry Mood,  
And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.*

Mr. D R Y D E N.

The greatest thing this World can shew is Authority. This is the Image of the divine Power, a Messenger and Deputy from Heaven. If this Deputation (as to Men) be sovereign, and immediately under God, we call it *Majesty*; if it be subordinate to any human Power, we then call it (in a more peculiar and restrained Sense of the Word) *Authority*. And this is supported upon two Bases, Admiration and Fear; both which must go together, and jointly contribute to the keeping it up. Now this Majesty and Authority is principally and properly in the Person of the supreme Governor, the Prince, and Lawgiver, and in him it lives, and moves, and acts, in its utmost Vigor. The next Degree of it, is, when lodged in his Commands, Orders, and Decrees, that is, in the Law, which is a Prince's Master-piece, and the noblest Copy of that incommunicable Majesty, whereof himself is the Original; and by this Law it is, that Fools are reduced from Evil, informed in Good, governed and led to know and do, what is convenient for their own, and necessary for the publick Interest. Thus you see in short, of what Weight and Efficacy Authority and Laws are to the World; how necessary, and how beneficial to the present Circumstances, and the greatest part of Mankind.

H h h 2

This



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2.  
*Custom.*

This Authority is stated, fix'd and agreed upon; but there is another, which comes nearest of any up to it, commonly called Custom; a very powerful, but withal a very positive and imperious Mistress. This Power is all gain'd by Encroachment and Usurpation, by Treachery and Force; it gets Footing by Inches, and steals in upon the World insensibly. The Beginnings of it are small and imperceptible, gentle and humble, and frequently owing to Mens Tameness or Neglect; their Laziness and Yielding; the Influence of Example, and the Blindness of Inconsideration; but when it hath once taken root, and is fix'd by Time, it puts on a stern domineering Look, issues out its Orders, plays the Tyrant, and will be observed: It is to no purpose then to argue for Liberty and Right; no Man is suffered to speak, to move, to look, in contradiction to such an Establishment. It stops your Mouth with Possession and Precedent; which indeed are its proper and only Pleas of Title; grows great and more eminent, the farther it goes; and like Rivers, enlarges its Name and Channel by rowling; insomuch, that even, when the Mischiefs and Inconvenience of its still prevailing are manifest, yet is it not safe to reduce it to its first infant State; and Men are oftentimes better advised in suffering under it, than in attempting to disuse or reverse it.

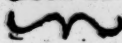
3.  
*Law and  
 Custom  
 compared.*

If now we compare these two together; it will be found, that *Law* and *Custom* establish their Authority by very different Methods. Custom creeps upon us by little and little, by Length of Time, by gentle and acceptable Means, by the Favour and general Consent, or at least with the Approbation

of

of the Majority; and its Beginning, Growth, Establishment, are all from the People. The Law admits none of these slow Proceedings; it is born at once, and in full Perfection; comes to Vigor and Maturity in a Moment; it marches out with Authority and Power, and receives its Efficacy from the supreme Commander; it depends not always upon the good liking of the Subjects, but is frequently full sore against their Wills; and yet prevails, and takes place, though burdensome and ungrateful to them. This last Consideration is the Reason, why some have compared Law to a Tyrant, and Custom to a King. Again, Custom, though otherwise never so engaging, yet never proposes Rewards or Penalties: But the Law propounds both, and to be sure threatens Penalties upon the Disobedient at least. Yet, notwithstanding these Differences, the Matter is so order'd that these two are frequently capable, either of strengthening, and mutually assisting, or of destroying and overthrowing each other. For Custom, though in Strictness it be only upon Sufferance, yet when countenanc'd and publickly allowed by the Prince, will be still more firm and secure; and the Law likewise gets Ground upon the People, and stands faster by means of Possession, and long Usage. On the contrary, Custom will be quash'd by a Law prohibiting the Countenance of it; and a Law will go down the Stream, and be lost to all the Purposes and Effects of it, if a contrary Custom be connived at. Thus, I say, they may interfere to the Prejudice of each other; but usually they go hand in hand, and are in reality almost the same thing, consider'd under different respects: The

Book II.



wiser and more discerning Men considering that as a Law, which the Ignorant and Vulgar, who have little Notions of a Legislative Power, or its Sanctions, observe purely as a thing Customary, and because it hath been in use, without attending how it came to be so.

4.  
*Different  
and odd  
Customs.*

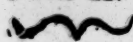
The strange Variety of Laws and Customs, which have obtained in the World, and the Extravagance of some of them, is really prodigious. It is scarce possible to think of any Imagination so whimsical and odd, but some Country or other hath received it as a Custom, or establish'd it by a Law. I will give my self the trouble of instancing in several upon this occasion, to convince those, who perhaps cannot easily suffer themselves to be persuaded how much Truth there is in this Observation. And here, not to instance in Religion, which in the idolatrous and less civiliz'd Countries especially, hath had grosser Deceits, more abominable Absurdities, and more amazing Variety of these, than any other Subject whatsoever; yet, because it does not fall so directly within the Compass of our present Argument, I shall pass it over at present, and confine my self to the Head of Civil Commerce; in which alone Customs, properly so called, are used to take place; and where the Matter being exceeding obvious to every Understanding, it is so much the more astonishing, that Men should be carried into such Extravagances. Now those, which I think most remarkable, and fit to be mentioned, are such as follow. The reputed it an Instance of Affection and Duty, when Parents live to a certain term of Years, for their Children to kill, and to eat them; In Inns and other publick

Houses



Houses of Accommodation, instead of discharging the Reckoning with Money, to lend their Wives and Daughters to the Host for Payment; The having Wives in common; The setting up publick Stews for young Men; The esteeming it honourable for Women to be common, and wearing Tufts and Fringe at their Garments, by way of Boast and Glory, to signify the Number of their Gallants; The suffering single Women to abandon themselves to all Manner of Filthiness, and publicly to procure Abortions when with Child; but of all married Women requiring the strictest Chastity, and Fidelity to their Husbands imaginable; The marrying of Men to one another; The Women going to War, and engaging in Battel along with their Husbands; Wives dying, and laying violent Hands upon themselves, either at the Instant, or very quickly after the Death of their Husbands; The allowing Widows a Liberty of marrying again, provided their former Husbands died by a violent Death, but if otherwise, then debarring them of that Privilege. Investing Husbands with an absolute, unlimited, uncontrollable Power over their Wives; to divorce them at Pleasure, without being obliged to shew Cause; to sell them off, if they bring no Children; to kill them without any manner of Provocation, merely by virtue of this despotick Power, and the Relation the Wife stands in to him, and to borrow afterwards from other People; Women to bear Children without any manner of Terror, or Complaint; Killing their Children, because they are not handsome, nor beautiful in Complexion; not well-Featured, crooked, or ill shap'd, or without assigning

Book II.



any Reason at all; The feeding altogether upon Man's-Flesh; the eating Flesh and Fish quite raw; The lodging Persons of all Ages and Sexes indifferently, to the Number of ten or twelve together; Making the putting their Finger down to the Ground, and afterwards pointing with it up to Heaven, the common Form of Salutation; Turning their Back upon the Person they address, and make a Civility to, and taking it for a constant Rule, never to look at the Person to whom you design Honour and Respect; Observing it as a Mark of Duty to gather up the Spittle of Princes in their Hands; Never speaking to the King, but through a long Trunk; never cutting the Hair or Nails during their whole Lives; To shave the Hair on one Side, and pare the Nails of one Hand, but never to do it of the other; The boring Holes in the Cheeks, and other Parts of the Face, to wear Pendants and Jewels at, and the same at the Breasts and Nipples; Absolutely to despise Death, to welcome it with Feasting and Joy, to contend and quarrel for it, nay, to plead and sue for it in publick, as if it were some remarkable Dignity, or extraordinary Favour, and to look upon the granting these Suits, and being preferred before other Competitors in them, as a singular Honour; The esteeming it the most honourable way of disposing their dead Bodies, and much more glorious than any Burials, to be eaten up of Dogs, and Fowls of the Air, and to be boiled or baked, dried and pounded to Powder, and that Dust mingled with Men's ordinary Drink.

5.  
Customs  
examined  
and judg'd.

Now, whatever Diversion the relating such Customs as these, or whatever wonder it may create,

ate, yet if we come a little cloſer to the Matter, and once undertake to paſs a Judgment upon them, all then is Noiſe and Scuffle, eager and endleſs Quarrel. The Common People are ſo over-run with Prepoſſeſſion and Pedantick Folly, that they, according to their uſual Wiſdom, run all down at a Venture; and without more ado, condemn every thing for Barbarous and Brutish, which is not juſt according to their own Palate, that is, which does not agree with the received Praſtice and Cuſtom of their own Country. For they, never looking Abroad, nor underſtanding what is done there, can ſee no manner of Reaſon, why their own local Uſages at Home, ſhould not be the only, and unalterable Standard of Truth, and Juſtice, and Decency, all the World over. If you endeavour to infuſe ſome larger Notions of theſe Matters, by telling them, that other People of their Capacity are even with them; that they are every jot as much out of Conceit with our Methods, as we can be with theirs; they cut you ſhort immediately, by replying, *You may ſee by that, how barbarous and brutiſh they are*; which is but ſaying the ſame Thing over again, and here they reſolve to ſtick. But now a wiſe Man is more reſerved, and allows a greater Latitude; he gives them a fair Hearing at leaſt, and does not determine haſtily, for fear of too much Warmth, and wronging his Judgment; and he is certainly in the Right; for there are really a great many Laws and Uſages, which, at firſt Sight, appear inſufferably barbarous, contrary to all the Notions of Humanity and ſound Reaſon, and yet if they were ſoberly conſidered, (all Paſſion and Prejudice a-

part)



Book II.

part) if they did not so far approve themselves to our Judgment, as to be allow'd Just and Good, yet it would be found that they are not destitute of all Colour of Reason; but have a great deal to be said in their Vindication; and Arguments plausible enough to excuse other Men's Practice, though not enough to recommend them to our own.

Let us now, for Instance, make the Experiment in those two first mentioned, which, I must confess, seem extremely odd, and the most distant that can be, from all the Apprehensions we commonly entertain of the Duty and Affection we owe to those who brought us into the World, and were at the Trouble and Expence of our Sustenance and Education. These Customs then are the killing one's Parents, when they come into such particular Circumstances, and eating their dead Bodies. The People who receive this Custom, look upon it as the highest Testimony of Piety and Respect; the last and fullest Proof of their Tenderness and sincere Affection. The great Design they have in it is Compassion to their old decrepid Parents, whom they think themselves under the strictest Obligations to deliver from a state of Misery and Infirmary; a State that renders them not only utterly Useless to themselves, and to every-body else, but even a Trouble and a Burthen; a State of Languishing and Decay, of Uneasiness and Pain; that makes Life a Weariness and a Torment to themselves, and all about them; and therefore they think that Death, which gives them Ease and Rest, and puts them past suffering any more, a very profitable Exchange, a Gain which

which they might be glad to chuse, and thankful for receiving. When they have done them this Kindness (as they esteem it) the next Proof of their dutiful Regard, is to give them the most honourable Burial in their Power : And for this Purpose they make their own Bodies their Repository; lodging these Carcasses and precious Relicks in their own Bowels; thus in some Measure conveying a new Life, and recruiting their perish'd Nature, by digesting and turning to Nourishment, this dead Flesh of their Parents, and Transubstantiating it into their own living Flesh. These Reasons are not so very Contemptible; at least, I am apt to believe, they may somewhat abate that Detestation, which the Prejudice of a contrary Opinion is apt to produce in the generality of People. A Man that considers impartially, will, I believe, allow, that the Persons who have been brought up to this Custom, may think it so plausible a one, that it will not be easy to bring them off from it; nay, that it may appear in the Eyes of these Persons, a horrible Cruelty and Abomination, to see their Aged Parents lie languishing before their Eyes, in the midst of Sicknefs and Pain, and faint Strugglings for the wretched Remnants of Life; without any kind Hand to do the good Office of setting them at Rest. And when declining Nature hath finish'd its own Course, it is no hard Matter to imagine, that these People should with Reluctancy and Horror, Interr these Spoils of those who gave them Being; that they might think it a Neglect and a Reproach to cast those Remains they so dearly love into a Hole, to rot in the Earth, to corrupt, and become Food for Worms; that

Book II.

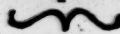
that this is the greatest Disregard they can possibly be guilty of, and a very ill Expression of Tenderness and Duty.

And that this Supposition is not so very much out of the way, we have plain matter of Fact to prove: For *Darius* made the Experiment, and found it to be exactly as I have put the Case. He first demanded of some *Grecians*, upon what Terms they would be content to take the *Indian* Custom of eating the Bodies of their deceased Parents; and their Answer was; What! do so barbarous a Thing, as eat our own Fathers? We could not do it at any Rate! Then again he attempted to persuade the *Indians*, that they would burn the Bodies of their Parents, after the manner of the *Grecians*; and he found these a great deal more averse to his Proposal, and more difficult to be persuaded, than the other. Give me leave here only to add one Instance more of Men's different ways of Reasoning in a trifling Matter, and such as only concerns Decency and Civility. A Man that used to wipe his Nose upon his Fingers, being reprov'd for so unmannerly a Trick; desired in his own Vindication, to know, what Privilege that filthy Excrement had above all the rest, that we must pay it the Respect of a fine Handkerchief; and then, as if it were some valuable Treasure, wrap it up close, and carry it in one's Pocket: That in all Reason this should rather turn one's Stomach, and give Offence, than throwing it carelessly away. Thus you see how few Things there are, for which some probable Reason may not be alledged; and this should be a Warning to us, not to condemn Things hastily  
and



and rashly, but to consider both sides of the Question.

Chap. 8.



But after all, the Power of Custom is incredible; no Man can conceive easily, how absolute and uncontrouled an Authority it exercises over Mankind. He that called it a Second Nature, came far short of the Truth; for it is equal, it is superior to Nature; it even contends with, it triumphs over Nature. Whence, I pray, comes it to pass that Fathers never fall in Love with their own Daughters, though never so charming and desirable Creatures? Or why are Sisters seldom or never smitten with their own Brothers, though infinitely handsomer, better accomplish'd, and more engaging than Strangers? This Reservation and Coldness does not properly proceed from Nature; she makes no such Distinctions; these are the Effects of general Customs, and positive Laws, who forbid such Mixtures, pronounce them scandalous and horrid, incestuous and wicked; but again, I say, these Characters are fix'd by divine or human Institutions; for Nature knows no such Thing as Incest, nor condemns any Alliances, let the Line or Relation be what it will.

6.  
The Force  
of Custom.

This is sufficiently plain from Scripture, not only if we consider the Children and first Descendants of *Adam*, whose Case made the Thing unavoidable. But observe the Marriages and Relation of *Abraham* and *Nabor*, and the Descendants from them; the Matches of *Israel* and *Jacob*; the Fact of *Judah*, one of the twelve Patriarchs; *Amram* the Father of *Moses*; and other holy and eminent Persons. It was indeed the Law of *Moses*, which prohibited these Mixtures within the nearest

Gen. ii.  
xx. xxix.  
xxxviii.  
Exod. vi.  
Levit.  
xviii.  
Deut.  
xxii. 30.  
2 Sam.  
xiii. 13.  
1 Kings ii.



nearest Degrees: And yet this very Law Dispensed with that Rule in certain Cases, not only in the Collateral Line, that of taking the Brother's Wife for Instance; which was an express Command, and not barely an Indulgence, but between Brother and Sister of the half Blood; nay, even in a Right Line of Alliance, as betwixt the Son and his Father's Wife; for as to a right Line in Blood, this indeed seems a Crime against Nature, and the Example of *Lot* can give no Countenance to it, whatever Excuses some great Men have found for his Daughters, who seem to have done this for the sake of preserving Mankind, which in the Consternation they were then in upon the Destruction of *Sodom*, they thought all extirpated but themselves. But the Law of Nature is an Original Law, and Eternal one too, such as none but God can dispense with, and such as we never find any Example of his having ever dispensed with. But then, as for such Incests as are Accidental, and Ignorant, and Involuntary, 'tis very like *Tertullian's* Complaint may be too true, *That the World is full of them.*

See *Cajet.*  
in *Loc.*

Farther yet; Custom commits a Violence upon the Rules of Nature, and overbears them; witness that daily practice of Physicians, who frequently forsake the Theory, and set aside what Art and Reason do both concur in, so far as the Rules and Grounds of their Profession can discover or direct; and take a different Course with their Patients, in deference to Experience, and common Success: Witness again those People, who have wrought a perfect Change in their Constitutions, even so as to Eat, nay to live upon Poison,

son, Spiders and Ants, Lizards and Toads, as several whole Nations are said to do in the *Indies*. Custom does likewise stupify our Senses, and alter the Temper of the Organ, and the Quality of the Impression, and the Report made from it. To this Purpose are the Accounts we read of those People, who dwell near the Cataracts of the River *Nile*; and indeed a Mill-pool, or a Steeple, or a Brazier's Shop, will in Proportion have the same Effect; and, if you give Credit to some old Philosophers, all the World are deaf to the Musick of the Spheres, which is nothing else but the different Motions of the several Orbs turning round upon their own Axis, and variously jussling and interfering with one another. In one word, the great and Master-workmanship of Custom is, that it subdues and conquers Nature, vanquishes every Difficulty; makes those things easy by degrees, which seemed unattainable and impossible; and the bitterness of Pain and suffering it wears out, and softens, till at last our Complaints cease, and we are reconciled even to our Miseries themselves. Nay, it does not only produce Content, and lay asleep the sensitive Soul, but it manages and domineers over the Rational one too; and exercises a most unjust and arbitrary Power over our Imaginations and Judgments. It makes and un-makes at Pleasure: Gives and takes away Reputation and Esteem without, nay, sometimes against Reason. It brings Notions in Philosophy, in Religion, in Politicks, Opinions and Ceremonies, Fashions and Modes of living into Credit, though they be never so fantastical and extravagant, never so uncouth and distant from what Reason and

Judg-



Book II. Judgment would teach and approve. Nor is its Tyranny less formidable in the contrary Extreme; for it as frequently does great Wrong, to Things in themselves Noble, and worthy of universal Advantage, by disparaging and lessening of them, and even bringing them into Neglect, and universal Contempt. So unreasonably does Custom and common Fame raise or lower the Market; so precarious and uncertain is the greatest intrinsic Worth, if it happen to be lodged in an obsolete Opinion, an antiquated and unfashionable Virtue; for all these Things have their Seasons of Improvement and Declension; and the Sentiments of the World upon them will vary, though the Reason and Nature of the Thing be constantly the same.

\* ——— *What we now with greatest Ease receive,  
Seem'd strange at first, and we could scarce believe;  
And what we wonder at, as Years increase,  
Familiar grows, and all our Wondrings cease.*

[CREECH.]

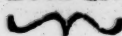
Thus you plainly see the vast Influence and excessive Power of Custom. Plato was once reproving a Youth for playing often at Cob-Nut; who replied in his own excuse, *Methinks, Sir, under favour, you chide me for a very small matter: No, (said Plato) you are mightily mistaken; for be assured, Young Man, that Custom is never a small mat-*

\* Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam  
Principio, quod non desinant mirarier omnes ——— Paulatim.

LUCRET. Lib. XI.

ter. A Sentence this, which well deserves the serious Attention of all, who have the Care of educating Youth. Once more: Custom is so very tyrannical in the Exercise of its Power, and expects so unreserved a Compliance, that it will not give us leave to struggle with it, or retreat from it; nay, does not allow us so much as the Liberty to consider, and reason with our selves, whether what it imposes be fit for us to comply with, or not. It so perfectly charms our Senses and Judgment, as to persuade us that every thing which is new and strange, must needs be contrary to Reason; and that there can be no Justice or Goodness in any thing, which Custom hath not confirmed, and made current by its Approbation. *We do not govern our selves by Reason, but are carried away by Custom; whatever is most in use, that we esteem most virtuous, most becoming; even Error itself, when it is become epidemical, hath the Authority of Truth with us.* These Complaints of *Seneca* are but too true in every Age and Place; and, were only the plain, and mean, and ignorant People concerned in them, the Calamity were somewhat tolerable: Because these Men are not really qualified to enter into the true Reasons and Differences of Things, they have not Sagacity enough to see, nor Solidity enough to search an Argument to the Bottom; and therefore 'tis the best thing they can do, since they are not able to distinguish and judge for themselves, to pin their Opinions upon the Sleeves of those that are able, and let them speak for them. This is a safe and a peaceable Way, and the Publick finds great Ease and Convenience from it. But for wise Men, who are under a very different Character,

Book II.



and have another Part to act, to see them led thus about by the Nose, and enslaved to every Folly, that puts on the venerable Face of Custom, is very much below their Judgment and Quality, and may justly be allowed to move our Indignation, that they should so far forget themselves, and what they are qualified for.

7.  
*Advice  
with re-  
gard to  
Laws and  
Customs.*

I do not mean by this, that a Man who would approve himself wise, should be singular and precise, and denounce War upon all Mankind, and their Manners; for my Desire and Advice is, that he should be very observant of the Laws and Customs which are establish'd, and in present Force in the Country where he dwells; yet that, not with a servile superstitious Spirit, but from a manly and generous Principle; that he should speak of them with Deference and great Respect, and conform his Actions and whole Behaviour to the Rule and Measures they prescribe. And all this I would have him do, not merely from a Conviction of their Agreement with the Principles of Justice, and Equity, and Reason, but without regarding so much what they are in themselves; and upon this Consideration only, that they are Laws and Customs: Then I desire he should be very cautious and considerate in his Judgment of foreign Customs and Constitutions, and not rashly condemn, or take offence at them, upon slight and superficial Pretences. And lastly, I would have him with all possible Seriousness, Freedom, and Impartiality, examine into both the domestick and the foreign, and engage his Judgment and Opinion in the behalf of either, no farther than Reason will bear him out: These are the four Instructions which



which I shall a little enlarge upon, and they contain the Whole of what seems to me necessary under this Head. Chap. 8.

In the first place, All wise Men agree, that the observing the Laws, and being governed by the Customs of the Country where we dwell, is the great and fundamental Principle, the Law of Laws; because indeed it is this which gives Life and Vigor to all the rest. All affected Ways of living, that are particular, and out of the common Road, give just Cause of Indignation and Jealousy, betray a great deal of Folly, or Conceitedness, or Ambition; confound the Order, and disturb the Government of the World.

<sup>1.</sup>  
*They ought  
to be com-  
plied with.*

I add in the second place, That this be done out of Reverence to Publick Authority. For strictly speaking, these Laws and Customs support their Credit, and ought to preserve an Authority, not merely with regard to any inherent Equity or Reasonableness to be discovered in them; but they are sacred upon this single Consideration, That they are Laws and Customs, though there be nothing else to recommend them to our Observance. This is the mystical Foundation upon which they stand, and the great Secret of Government; and, properly speaking, they have no other Motive but their Sanction to enforce them. My Meaning is not from hence, that any Establishment, though never so strong, can derive a Right to our Obedience, upon Laws and Usages manifestly unreasonable and unjust; but that he who obeys a Law, merely for the sake of its Subject-matter being just, though he do the thing commanded by it, yet he does it upon a wrong Principle. For at this rate,

<sup>2.</sup>  
*Not merely  
for the Ju-  
stice and  
Equity of  
them.*

Book II.

every Law must submit itself to the Judgment of every private Man, and each Subject shall call it to account, arraign and try it at the Bar of his own Breast, bring all Obedience to be a Matter of Controversy and Doubt, and by consequence, all the Right of Administration, and the whole Civil Polity must truckle and submit, not only to the Fickleness and Variety of infinite several Judgments, but to the changeable and humourfome Sentiments of one and the same Person. That which binds the Law upon Mens Consciences, is the Authority of the legislative Power, and the Sanction it receives from thence; the Reasonableness of the Duty contained in it is only an additional and collateral Obligation. How many Laws have there been in the World, so far from any Appearance of Piety or Justice, that they have really been exceeding trifling, extravagant, and senseless, such as no Man's Reason knew what to make of? And yet Mankind have submitted, nay, and enjoyed as much Peace and good Order, and been as regularly governed, as highly contented, as if they had been the justest and most reasonable that ever human Wisdom and Policy enacted. Now, he that should have gone about to create a Dissatisfaction and Dislike to such Laws, or attempted to repeal or to amend them, would have deserved to be suspected as an Enemy to the Publick, and not to be endured or hearkened to in a wise Government. There are very few Things but human Nature may, in process of Time, reconcile it self to; and when once the Difficulty is overcome, and Things sit easy upon People, it is no better in Effect, than an act of Hostility, to offer at the

dissettling them again. We should always be content to let the World jog on in its own beaten Path; for it is but too often seen, that your Removers of ancient Land-marks, and busy Politicians, under their plausible Pretences of reforming, spoil and ruin all.

There is seldom or never any considerable Alteration made in established Laws, received Opinions, acknowledged Customs, and ancient Ordinances and Discipline; but it is of very pernicious Consequence. The Attempt is always extremely hazardous, there is commonly more Hurt than Good done by it; at least this deserves to be duly weighed, that the Mischief, if less in itself, is yet sooner felt; for the Disorders every Change creates are certain and present, but the Advantages it produces are distant and doubtful; so that we exchange a Good in Possession, for one in Expectation only; and where we submit to that, there ought to be very great Odds in Value, to justify the Prudence of our Proceeding. This is certain, that Men are but too fond of Novelties, before they have tried them, and Innovators never want some very fair and plausible Pretences, to catch and feed their Fancies with; but the more of this kind they pretend, the more ought we to suspect and be aware of them. For how indeed can we forbear detesting the vain and ambitious Presumption of Persons, who undertake to see farther, and be wiser than all Mankind besides? What an intolerable Arrogance is it in such turbulent and factious Spirits, to persuade Men into Compliance with their Humours, at the Expence of the Publick Peace; and to think it worth while, that the



Book II. Government should run the Risque of its own Ruin, merely for the sake of establishing a fresh Scheme, and passing a private Opinion into an universal Law?

I have already hinted, and do repeat it here again, That we are not by any means obliged to obey all Laws and Constitutions whatsoever, which our Superiors shall think fit to impose, without any Distinction or Reserve: For where we find them evidently to contradict the Laws of God and Nature, in such case, we must neither comply on the one hand, nor disturb the Publick Peace by our refusing to do so on the other. How Men ought to behave in such critical Junctures, will fall more properly under Consideration, when we come in the next Book to treat of our Duty to Princes. And indeed this Inconvenience is much more frequent upon Subjects, with regard to their arbitrary Commands, than the established Laws. Nor is it sufficient that we submit to Laws and Governors, upon the account of their Justice and particular Worth; but this must not be done servilely and cowardly, upon Motives of Fear and Force: This is a Principle fit only for the meanest and most ignorant; it is Part of a wise Man's Character, to do nothing unwillingly and upon Compulsion, but to delight in his Duty, and find a sensible Pleasure in a reasonable Obedience. He keeps the Laws for his own sake, because he is jealous and tender of doing any thing he ought not, and a rigid Master over himself. He needs no Laws to constrain him in what is decent and good. This distinguishes him from the common Populace, who have no other Sense or Direction of their Duty, but

but what positive Laws can give. In Strictness, Chap. 8.  
according to the old *Stoical* Notions, the wise Man  
is above the Laws, and a Law to himself. But  
however, he pays all outward Deference to them,  
and a free voluntary Obedience; this is due from  
him as a Member of Society, as the inward Free-  
dom of his Mind is owing to the Prerogative of a  
Philosopher.

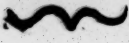
In the third Place, I affirm it to be the Effect 3.  
of extreme Levity, a Presumption, vain in itself,  
and injurious to others; nay, a Mark of great  
Weakness and Insufficiency of Judgment, to con-  
demn all those Laws and Customs abroad, which  
are not conformable to those of our own native  
Country. This indeed is owing either to want of  
Leisure or Opportunity, or to want of Ability and  
Largeness of Mind for the considering the Reasons  
and Grounds impartially, upon which foreign Es-  
tablishments are founded. It is a great Wrong  
done to our own Judgment, to pronounce a rash  
Sentence, which, when we come to a more per-  
fect Understanding of the Cause, we shall in ma-  
ny Instances find our selves obliged to retract, and  
be ashamed of. And it is an Argument that we  
forget the Extent and Condition of human Na-  
ture, how many, and how different Things it is  
susceptible of. It is a shutting the Eyes of our  
Mind, and suffering them to be laid asleep, and  
deluded with the often repeated Impressions of the  
same thing, the daily Dream of long Use; and to  
submit so far to Precedent and Prescription, that  
these should overbear the plainest Reason, and give  
Example the Ascendant over Judgment.

Lastly, It is the Business and the Character of a generous Mind, and such a wise Man as I am here drawing the Idea of, to examine all things. First, to take each apart, and consider it by itself; then to lay them one over against another, and compare them together, that so the several Laws and Customs of the whole World, so far as they shall come to his Knowledge, may have a full and fair Trial; and that, not for the directing his Obedience, but to assert his Right and execute his Office. When this is done, he ought to pass an honest and impartial Judgment upon them, as he shall find them, upon this Enquiry, to be agreeable, or otherwise, with Truth, and Reason, and universal Justice; for this is the Rule, this the Standard, which all of them are to be tried and measured by. To these we are principally and originally engaged, nor may we so far falsify our Obligations, as to depart from them in favour of any Customs, or to suffer our Judgments to be debauched with false Notions, though our national Constitutions were ten thousand times dearer to us, than it is possible to suppose them. For these can only claim a secondary Obligation; the former was general, and concerned us as Men, this only binds us as Subjects, or Natives of such a determinate Place, and so the Obligation is limited and particular; and if we pay our outward Observance, and submit in our Behaviour to these municipal Injunctions, this Part of our Duty is discharged, and all Parties have Reason to be satisfied. It is true, Things may so fall out, that in Compliance with this second, this particular and local Obligation, (that is, in Conformity to the Laws and Customs of the Place where



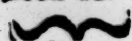
where we dwell) we may do something that does Chap. 8.  
not appear to us in every Point agreeable to the  
primitive and universal one; that is, such as Na-  
ture and Reason do not dictate, nor evince the E-  
quity of; but we still are true to this Obligation,  
by reserving our Judgment for it, acknowledging  
that what Nature suggests, and universal Equity  
dictates, ought to be preferred; and continuing  
firm in our Opinions, that this is always the best,  
though it be the Unhappiness of our particular  
Constitution not to be regulated according to it.  
For after all, our Judgment is the only thing we  
can call our own, and all we have left to dispose  
of; the World hath nothing to do with our  
Thoughts. Our external Behaviour, 'tis true,  
the Publick lays claim to; this we ought to pay,  
and must be accountable for it; and therefore thus  
far our Laws and Usages take place. We may  
very justly do what we cannot approve for any  
Justice or Goodness of its own, and obey Laws  
which have nothing of that intrinsick Excellence,  
that, had we been in Power, or perfectly free, we  
should either have enacted, or made choice of  
them. A great deal must be foregone for the sake  
of Order and Quiet, for, in short, there is no  
Remedy: This is the Condition of the World,  
and, as Matters stand, Mankind could not subsist  
without it.

Next in order to the two former Governesses,  
Law and Custom, succeeds a third; who with a  
great many is esteem'd of equal Authority with  
either of the former; and indeed, those that sub-  
mit, and enslave themselves to her, she treats with  
a more tyrannical, and unrelenting Severity, than  
either

Book II.  either of the former does. And this is *Ceremony*, which, in plain *English*, is for the most part no better than a set Form of Vanity. But yet, through Littleness of Soul, and the spreading depravation of Mind and Manners, so very general among Men; it hath gained so undeserved Honour and Reputation, and usurped such a Power, and is so insolent in the Exercise of it, that a great many People are possess'd with an Opinion, that Wisdom consists in a nice Observance of it. Under this Notion of the Thing, they tamely come to the Yoke, and list themselves its most willing Slaves; insomuch, that their Health, their Convenience shall suffer and be lost; Business be disappointed, Liberty be sold or given up, Conscience violated, God and Religion neglected, rather than they will suffer themselves to offend against one of the least and nicest Punctilio's. This is manifestly the Case of Formal Courtiers, and others, that affect the Character of Civility and good Breeding; this *Mint*, and *Anise*, and *Cummin*, is punctually paid, when the weightier matters of the Law are passed over; and the Idol *Ceremony* set up in the Place, and to the infinite Prejudice of plain downright Honesty, and sincere Friendship. Now I am very desirous, that the wise Man of my forming, should by no means suffer himself to be thus captivated and imposed upon. Not that I would have him Singular and Morose, as if Wisdom consisted in Rudeness, and acting in Defiance of Ceremony; for some Allowance must be made to the way of the World; and all the outward Conformity we can shew, is fit to be paid to the Manners of it, provided always, that this Compliance

pliance do not thwart other more weighty Considerations. For thus much I must needs insist upon, that my Scholar never bind himself without Reserve, nor be so absolutely devoted to these sorts of Respect, but that, when he shall find it necessary, in point of Duty, or otherwise shall see fit, he may have the Courage to dispense with, and shew that he can despise these little Niceties. And this I would have done with so visible a Prudence and Gallantry of Soul, that all the World may be satisfied, it is not Humour and Affectation, nor Ignorance, or sordid Neglect, which moves him to a Behaviour different from theirs; but that he is acted by a right Judgment, and juster Notions of the Matter, which will not let him value these poor things more highly than they deserve; that even where his outward Comportment is suited to the Practice, his Will and Judgment are entire and uncorrupted, and have not been perverted to a false Approbation and Esteem: In short, that however he may lend himself to the World when he sees Occasion, and not be Sullen, and Restiff, and Particular; yet he will not, nor can it ever become any wise or good Man, to sell, or give himself up to the World, by being eternally supple and ceremonious, and devoted entirely to the Rules and Modes of it.





## C H A P. IX.

*Modest and Obliging Behaviour in Conversation.*

**T**HIS Particular is properly reducible to the Topick of Justice; a branch of that Virtue which instructs us how to live and converse with all Mankind, and to render to every Man what by any sort of Right becomes his Due. And the proper Place for treating of this will be in the following Book; where the different Rules and particular Directions will be laid down, suitable to particular Persons and Occasions. At present you must expect only general Advice, that being agreeable to the Scheme at first proposed, and such as the Design and Matter of this second Part of my Treatise is confined to.

Now this is a Subject, which offers it self to us under a twofold Consideration; and consequently this Chapter which discourses of it, must of Necessity be divided into two Parts; according to the two different sorts of Conversation which Men use, and are engaged in with the World. One of these is simple, general, at large, and in common; such as is made up of our ordinary Company, and that Indifferency in Commerce and Acquaintance, which some accidental Occasion, or Business, or Travelling together, or meeting in third Places, or frequent Interviews at Places of publick Resort, or the Civilities of Visits and Complemental Ceremonies, do every Day lead us into; and so increase  
or

or lessen the Number of our Acquaintance, introduce new Families, or change our old; all, or some of which, happen not only with those we know, but with such as we never knew nor saw before: And this is a Correspondence and Conversation wholly owing to Fortune and Formality; our own Choice hath nothing to do with it, nor did we seek or take Pains to procure, or contract it. The other sort of Conversation may be called Particular, because consisting of such Companions as we like and love; Acquaintance of our own desiring; such as we either industriously sought, and chose to recommend our selves to; or else such as when offered to us, was most willingly embrac'd, and that with a prospect of Advantage to our selves; either for the Improvement of our Minds, or the advancing our Interest, or some other Profit or Pleasure, which we hope to reap from an Intimacy with them. And here we are not to consider such a superficial Commerce as before, but that which is stricter and more endearing, close Conferences, mutual Communication, secret Confidences, and great Familiarity. Each of which require distinct Rules, and shall have Directions apart. But before we enter upon either of these Considerations, I beg the Readers Leave to lay down one general Rule, which regards them both; and is in truth a fundamental Principle in the Case before us; for which Reason I chuse to place it here, as a necessary Introduction to every part of the subsequent Discourse.

One very great Vice, which the wise Man I am all this while forming, must be sure to keep himself clear of; (and indeed a most unseasonable  
and

2.  
*Easiness of  
Humour.*

Book. II. and troublesome ill Quality it is, both to one's self, and to all he converses with) is the being particularly addicted to some certain Humours, to keep always in the same Road of Conversation. This brings a Man into Slavery to himself, to be so inseparably wedded to his own Inclination and Fancy, that he can upon no occasion be prevailed with to comply, nor be agreeable to other People; and 'tis a certain Sign of a perverse and unsofiable Disposition, the Effect of Ill-nature and Ill-breeding, of unreasonable Arrogance, Partiality, and Self-conceitedness: The Men of this Temper have a rare Time on't; for, where-ever they come, they are sure to meet with Objects enough, either to try their Patience, or to raise a Controversy. On the other Hand, it argues great Wisdom and Sufficiency, when a Man hath an absolute Command of his Temper, so that he can accommodate himself to all Companies; and is of such a flexible and manageable Spirit, that he can rise and fall with the Company, be pleasant or serious, keep Pace, and constantly make one with what he finds the rest disposed to. And indeed the best and bravest Men have always the largest and most general Souls; and nothing argues Greatness of Mind more, than this universal Temper; the being always in good Humour, free and open, and generous in Conversation. This is a Character so beautiful, that it in some Measure resembles God himself, and is a Copy of his communicative Goodness: And among other Things said in Honour of old *Cato*, this is one noble Commendation; \* *That*

\* Huic versatile ingenium; Sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceret, quodcunque ageret.



*he was of a Disposition so dextrous and easy, that nothing ever came amiss to him; and whatever you saw him engaged in at that Time, he was so perfectly Master of it, that you would imagine this the very Thing which Nature had cut him out for.*

Chap. 9.  
~

Having premised this general Consideration, which is of use in both the following Branches of the Subject I am now upon, let us return to the former Part of the Division, which concerns what I called simple, and general, and common Conversation, in distinction from that other, which is chosen, and intimate, and particular.

3.  
First part.  
And Advice upon it.

Now for our Behaviour in this Point; there are several Things very proper and necessary to be observed; and the first Thing I would advise is, to be very reserved and modest in our Discourse.

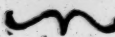
The second is, not to be out of Humour with every foolish or indiscreet Thing; every little Indecency, or Levity, which want of better Sense, or better Breeding, or some unthinking Gaiety of Mind may betray Men to: For we are to consider, when in Company, that we are in some degree disposed of to others, and no longer entirely our own; so that, allowing the Thing to have been otherwise than it ought, and better let alone; yet it is troublesome and impertinent in us to take Offence at every thing, which is not just as we would have it, or think it ought to be.

42

The third is, not to be too profuse of speaking all we know; but to play the good Husbands, and manage the Stock of our Understanding prudently. For Reservedness is not unbecoming even the wisest, and best provided for Discourse; so far as it argues a Deference to the rest of the Company, and

52

Book II.



- and declines that assuming way of talking all. But generally it is adviseable, that Men should be more inclined to hear, than to speak; and converse rather with a prospect of informing themselves, than with an Intention to teach the Company. For indeed 'tis a very great Fault, to be more forward in setting one's self off, and talking to shew one's Parts; than to learn the Worth, and to be truly acquainted with the Abilities of other Men: He that makes it his Business not to know, but to be known, is like a foolish Tradesman, that makes all the Haste he can to sell off his old Stock, but takes no Thought of laying in any new.
6. The fourth is, not to lie upon the Catch for Disputes; nor to shew our Wit, by perpetually entering into Argument; and even, when it is proper to do so, with regard to the Subject, yet to make a difference, as to the Persons with whom we are to engage. We ought not to contest a Point with Persons of Honour, and those that are much above us; it is a breach of the Deference and Respect due to their Character. Nor will it become us to do it with those that are much below us, either in Quality, or in Parts, for neither of these are an equal Match for us; to the one we are restrain'd by good Manners, and the other is to Triumph, where we ought rather to be ashamed of the Victory.
7. The fifth Rule is, to be modestly Inquisitive: For there is a decent and very commendable Curiosity, such as with great Innocence and Temper, and genteel Address, endeavours to be informed of all things fit to be known; and when a Man hath attained to this, his next Care must be to manage his

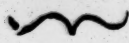
his Knowledge to the best Advantage, and make every thing turn to some Account with him. Chap. 9.

The sixth and most important Direction is, to make use of his Judgment upon all Occasions; for the examining and considering Matters well, is the Master-piece of a Man: 'Tis this that acts, and influences, and finishes all. Without the Understanding every Thing is void of Sense and Life, and in all respects as if it were not. Thus in History particularly, how poor a thing is it to remember the Passages we read? The judging of what is done is the Soul and Energy of Reading: But this perhaps you will think a little out of Season here; and so far I confess it is, that the acting this judicious part in Conversation, is what concerns a Man's self, and not the Company he is engaged in. 8.

The seventh is, never to talk positively, nor be peremptory in any Thing: And above all Things, to avoid that magisterial and imperious Air, that pretends to dictate to all the Company; that Stiffness and Opiniatrety, which is, of all things in the World, the most nauseous and offensive. An insolent dogmatical Humour is what no body can help being provoked at; and indeed it is usually a sign of a Senseless ignorant Fellow. The Stile of the ancient *Romans* was so extremely modest, that even the Witnesses in their Depositions, and the Judges in their Sentences and Decrees, when they spoke nothing but from their own positive and certain Knowledge, did always soften their Expressions with an *Ita videtur*, *To the best of my Knowledge*; and *This is my Judgment*. And if these Persons were so much upon their Guard in those 9.



Book II.



most solemn Occasions, what ought the Generality of People to be in common Discourse? Sure it were convenient for a Man to accustom himself to all those Expressions, that may any way sweeten the Harshness, or take off from the Rashness of what we say; such as, *Possibly, As they say, In my Opinion, In some sense*: And so again, when we reply to others, to qualify our Answers thus, *Sir, I do not apprehend you, What is the Meaning of that? Nay possibly it may be so, Say you so?* or the like. By all which we sufficiently make our own Sense understood, but convey it in a less shocking Manner.

I will conclude this first general Part of the Chapter with this short Admonition; That the true Qualifications for conversing with the World, are \* *an open, good-natur'd Face, a free Air, pleasing and agreeable to every body; a Mind close and secret, open to no body; a Tongue sober and reserved*: Such Discretion is always upon its Guard, and lays not too much Stress upon other People: In short, the Man that sees and hears a great deal, that talks little and judges every thing, is perfectly accomplish'd as to this Point.

10.  
Second  
Part.  
Particular  
Conversat-  
ion.

Let us now proceed to the other Consideration, and that Part of Conversation which is chosen and particular. And here these following Hints may probably be of some use for the due Government of our selves.

The first concerns the Choice of our Acquaintance; in which it should be our great Care, to

\* *Frons aperta, Lingua parca, Mens clausa, Nulli fidere. Vide, Audi, Judica.*

find out Men of the best Sense and soundest Judgment, and to frequent the Company of such. For by conferring with wise and judicious Persons, the Mind whets and fortifies itself, it improves every Day, hath stronger and higher Notions of Things, and is elevated above its common Pitch. As on the other hand, it degenerates and falls off, grows poor, and weak, and despicably low, by using the Conversation of People that are so: For ill Qualities are catching as well as Diseases, and the Mind is at least as much, if not a great deal more, liable to Infection, than the Body.

Chap. 9.

The second is, not to be surprized, or much offended with the Opinions of other People; for how different soever they may be from our own, or from those commonly entertained in the World, how odd and extravagant, how frivolous and absurd soever they may appear to us, yet still they are suited, it seems, to the Notions and Nature of a human Mind; which, like a fertile Soil, is in a Capacity of producing all manner of Seed, and therefore it is a Weakness in us to be amazed at a Crop, so very unlike what grows in our own Part of this common Field.

11.

The third is, not to be afraid of Correction, nor surprized or troubled for any rough Treatment or sharp Expressions, which it shall fall to our Lot to receive. For these are Things that a Man ought by all means to harden himself against, and learn to bear them without being moved. Brave Men express themselves boldly, they speak and spare not; this nice and ceremonious Softness, this tender Complaisance, so fearful to give the least Umbrage, is fit for none but Women and

12.

Book II. formal Coxcombs: Men ought to converse like Men; their Familiarity should be open and free, masculine and generous, full of Courage and becoming Confidence; they should dare, both to give and take Reproof, when Occasion requires. It is but a dull and insipid Pleasure, to have always to do with such supple and well-bred Fools, as consent, and flatter, and applaud all you say, be it true or false, right or wrong, indifferently.

13. The fourth is, to make Truth our constant Aim and End; to direct all our Discourses hither, to acknowledge it wheresoever we meet it, to yield to it fairly and chearfully; for this is a Mark of Ingenuity, to make no Difference or Respect of Persons, but give up our Assent to Truth, let it come from what Hand it will; to be honest and sincere upon all Occasions, and in all our Disputes, and not like pedantick Wretches, who affect to shew their Parts, maintain an Argument, right or wrong, and wrangle for Victory and the last Word, and think it a Reproach to give out, and not silence their Adversary. The noblest Conquest, after all, is to conquer one's own Vanity, and the truest Glory is to submit to Reason; for this, we are sure, is Victory indeed; but an Adversary may be baffled by Art and Management, a good Cause may suffer by a weak and unskilful Defence: This is not carrying a Point, but triumphing over an Infirmary, and therefore all Heat, and Positiveness, and Passion, should be avoided. When a Man confesses his Mistake, owns his Scruples, or his Ignorance, and acknowledges his Faults when made sensible of them, when he can yield quietly and decently to stronger Reasons; this Man shews more



more than common Marks of Judgment, and Candor, and Sincerity, which are indeed the principal Qualities of Honesty and Wisdom; but Stiffness and Obstinacy is an irrefragable Evidence of an ill Mind, and a sure Sign of great and many Vices and Defects. Chap. 9.

Fifthly, When we engage in any Dispute, it will be very advisable, not to trouble one's self with mustering up all the Arguments that can any way be serviceable to us, but rather out of that Variety to cull out a few of the best, most pertinent, and such as come up to our Purpose, and to put these into as close and short a Method as conveniently we can. For let a Man talk never so well, yet he may say too much, and the best Subjects may be render'd tedious. And indeed, this affected Way of Enlargement, and spinning out our Discourses, our Repetitions and formal Amplifications, are a certain Sign of a Man's Ostentation and Vanity, and loving to hear himself talk; and as such, it is certain too, to be troublesome and offensive, and never fails to tire, and to prejudice the Company against us. 14.

The sixth, and indeed the chief Direction, is, To observe due Form and Order, and not to make impertinent Digressions and Excursions in our Discourses. Oh the horrid Confusion and Vexation, that there is in disputing or talking with an impertinent Coxcomb, that ventures at all, knows nothing of the matter, will be kept to no Method, but is eternally out of time! This seems the only reasonable Excuse for breaking abruptly and renouncing all Measures; nay, for leaving the Field and giving quite out. For what can you expect 15.

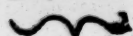
Book II.

but Teazing and Torment, from a Fellow that is untractable and incorrigible? Not to discern the Strength of what you offer against him, to take his own Course, to run away with his own Notions, and never reply to the Objections of an Adversary; to hang upon some one Word, to catch hold upon a thing accidental and by the by, and let go the principal and designed Argument of Discourse; to confound and jumble all, suspect every Word, deny every thing at a venture, to proceed in no Order, to weary you with formal Prefaces and unprofitable Digressions, and after a world of Words, nothing to the purpose, to grow loud and clamorous; to stick to his own Sense, and not to be one whit moved by all one can say, to insist upon Forms and Terms of Art, and never to come to the true Head of an Argument, nor know the real Merits of the Cause; these are the Qualities and common Practice of Pedants and Sophisters, arrogant and affected Coxcombs. And from this Description we may very easily learn, how to distinguish between judicious and pertinent Wisdom, and prating Impertinence and Folly. This is bold and rash, hot and fierce, arrogant and assured; the former is never confident or positive, but cautious and fearful, modest and reserved, calm and peaceable. The wise Man is full of Respect, and free in making Allowances; obtains his Victory fairly, and uses it generously; but the impertinent is full of Self-satisfaction and Joy, leaves the Field with an Air of Gaiety and Boasting, as taking for granted that the Day is his own; all his Countenance and Behaviour is triumphant, and proclaims to the Company,

Company, that he looks upon himself as absolute Conqueror. Chap. 9.

16.  
Lastly, When we are reduced to a Necessity of contradicting any thing said, particular Care should be taken, that we do it not after a bold and assuming manner, nor betray any thing that looks like Eagerness and a Spirit of Contention. For, if it have any of these ill Symptoms, it can never be well received, and the Mischief will be much greater to the Author himself, than to the Person whom it is directed against. The only Way to render any Opposition tolerably easy to the Company, and to be secure from any of those ill Resentments which are apt to follow upon it, is to contrive, that it should be produced upon the Spot, and immediately applied to the Matter which gave the Provocation; that it be not far fetched, not foreign to the present Discourse, nor ripping up somewhat long past and forgotten. It must also be levelled at the Thing alone, and be free from any personal Reflections; nor must we contradict any thing because such a one says it, but merely because the Thing itself deserves, and the Vindication of Innocence or Truth requires it. In which Case, if there be any manner of Occasion put into our Hands, it is a very proper Expedient, to soften the Difference of Opinion, with some particular Commendation of the Person we oppose: But above all things, we must be sure that in all Matters of this Nature we command our Temper, and reason with all the Coolness and calm Argument, the gentlest Terms and most inoffensive Language, that is possible.

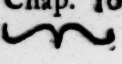


*Prudent Management of Business.*

**T**HIS Particular does in strictness belong to the Virtue of Prudence, of which our intended Method hath not as yet led us to treat, but reserved that to the following Book. And there indeed is the proper Place for insisting severally upon the many Rules and Admonitions, which answer to the several Kinds and Branches of Prudence, and provide against that infinite Variety of Occurrences, which call for the Exercise of it in human Life. But in the mean while, I will so far enter into that Subject at present, as to lay down some of the principal Points of Prudence, which may serve for common and general Topicks; thus to instruct my Scholar in the Gross, how to behave himself well and wisely in the common Correspondence and Commerce of the World, and to make him a Master of his Business. For the due Management whereof, I would recommend these eight Directions that follow.

I.  
*Knowledge  
of Men and  
Things.*

The First of these is, That he would be sure to get good Information, and a competent Knowledge of Men and Things. For the Men he hath to deal with, it is requisite he be well acquainted with their particular Humour and Disposition, their Understanding and Capacity, their Inclination and governing Passions, their Intention and Design, and the Methods by which they move. The Things, or particular Business in which a Man is engaged, or which he proposes to undertake, ought likewise

likewise to be well understood; whereby I mean, Chap. 10.  
not such a slender and superficial Knowledge as   
considers the Appearances only, but a thorough  
Examination to the very Bottom; such a Disqui-  
sition, as does not only consider the Things them-  
selves in their own Nature, but enlarges and ex-  
tends itself to the Accidents which they in any  
Probability may be incumbred with, and the sever-  
al Consequences they are like to draw after them.  
Now, in order to the attaining this Knowledge, it  
is necessary to take a close and particular View of  
our Affairs; to turn them all manner of Ways,  
eye them in all the different Prospects they are ca-  
pable of, and nicely scan all the Forms and Cir-  
cumstances of them, which our own Imagination  
can represent them under. For there are a great  
many Attempts which have a fair and beautiful  
Side, full of Invitation and large Promises, and yet  
if you turn the other Side, look horrid and forbid-  
ding, and shew nothing but Deformity and Dan-  
ger. Now there is no Occasion to prove the Ne-  
cessity of such a Knowledge as this, because it is  
so very evident, that this is the very Compass Men  
must steer by; for no Man doubts but that the dif-  
ferent Tempers of Men and Conditions of Things,  
bring us under an absolute Necessity of changing  
our Measures, and making all our Schemes suitable  
to them. A Man in this Case should be as vigi-  
lant, and as dexterous, as the Seamen are, who  
immediately gibe their Sails, and ply their Oars  
differently, as the Wind shifts, or their Course  
they run, brings them upon different Roads and  
Shores. And as they could never make their Ports  
by steering always the same Course, no more could  
1 a Man

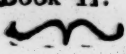
**Book II.** a Man who always governs himself alike in Business, expect any other Effect at last, than that his Affairs should be ruined and come to nothing, and that all the World should despise and laugh at his Folly. Now, if we do but reflect a very little, how intricate the Affairs of the World are, and how much more intricate and full of Disguise human Nature is, the Perplexity will appear so great, as to convince us, that the Knowledge I have here been advising, is no such easy Matter, but that we must be content to come at it slowly and painfully; for it requires much Attention, long Study, and repeated Consideration, a Judgment clear and strong, and a Mind unprejudiced and free from Passion.

2.  
*Just Valuation of them.*

The next Lesson to be learnt upon this Occasion, is, that of knowing how to make a just Estimate of Things, so as to give each that real Value, and proper Place in our Opinion, which of right belongs to it. And this is a certain Effect of Prudence and Sufficiency. It is indeed a very high Pitch of Philosophy, to be able to do this, and such as a Man shall never rise up to, except he first get clear of his own deceitful Passions, and the common received Errors of the World. There are some six or seven Qualities, that strangely captivate vulgar Minds, and seduce them into very mistaken Valuations of a thing, which wise Men will take good Care not to be deluded by. These are the Novelty, the Rarity, the Strangeness, the Difficulty, the artificial Composure, the Quaintness of the Invention, the Absence or present Want, the losing or being refused it, but especially, and above all the rest, the Noise, and Show, and



and Pomp it creates in the World. Thus the Generality of People look upon all things to be little better than despicable, which are not exalted by Art, and Study, and human Skill; they must have them raised and refined, to recommend them. Those that are plain and simple, and have nothing but their own native Excellencies to set them off, (let those Excellencies in reality be never so valuable) are so far from being had in any regard, that they are scarce taken notice of at all. They pass off in the common Crowd, unobserved and unseen, or if they are seen, yet they do not move us, but are look'd upon as low, flat, and insipid: Than which we cannot have a plainer Proof of the Vanity and Weakness of Mankind, who thus take up with Air and Emptiness, and are content to accept base Metal, and counterfeit Coin in Payment, rather than true Standard and Current Money. Hence it is, that Art is so much preferred before Nature, acquired Excellencies to those that are innate, Things difficult and elaborate before those that are easy, sudden Gushes, and Flights, and impetuous Sallies, before the Constancy and Calmness of Habit and Temper; Things extraordinary, above those that are ordinary and usual; Ostentation and Pomp, above intrinsic and private real Worth; Things that are another's, above our own, foreign above domestick, borrowed before natural. And how egregiously foolish now is all this? This, I say, is the Folly of the Vulgar and Undiscerning; but wise Men observe other Measures. They take care not to be thus imposed upon, nor carried away with fantastical Notions, but to pass a severe and critical Enquiry, and judge of Things, first  
2 by

Book II.  by their true, substantial, and natural Goodness, which many times is internal, and lies far out of Sight; and then by the Advantages they are capable of bringing. These are solid Foundations of Esteem, all the rest is mere Cheat and Delusion.

Now it must be confess'd, the being able to make these Distinctions judiciously, is exceeding difficult; for the World is full of Sophistry and Disguise; Things have a Thousand false Faces; and it often happens, that those which are really Counterfeit, and worth nothing, look fairer, more gay, more inviting, than those that are truly valuable and good. (Nay, *Aristotle* hath ventured to say, that in matters of Speculation, there are a great many Falsties, which carry more shew of Probability, and bid fairer at first Sight for engaging our Assent, than several Truths do :) But then, for our Encouragement, we ought to remember, that as this is very difficult and laborious, so is it likewise an incomparably Noble and most Divine Attainment; and withal, that it is of infinite Use, and absolute Necessity. \* *How necessary is it (saith Seneca) to set a true Rate upon Things?* And so without Question it must needs be. For, to what Purpose does a Man inform himself in the Rules and Directions for living well, till he be first rightly instructed, what Account he ought to hold those several Objects in, which his Desires and Actions are conversant about? Riches, for Instance, and Health, and Beauty, and Quality, and Learning, what degrees of Good these can pre-

\* Quàm necessarium pretia rebus imponero?

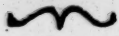
tend to, and what Evil he is to expect, or can suffer from their Contraries. It is a great Instance of Skill in moral Heraldry, to know the Places of all these, and what Precedences are due to them respectively; and especially when several of them meet together, it is not easy to proportion our Respects, because the Number confounds us; and indeed all People are not, nor ever will be agreed as to their Quality, which of them is most honourable. The Tastes and Judgments of particular Persons differ exceedingly; and it is very well they do, for if all Mankind were fond of the same Thing, they would constantly be interfering, and hindring one another.

For an Instance of what I have said; let us take these eight principal Sources of all the Happiness we can propose to our selves in this World; whether of Body or Mind. I shall pair them together, by mentioning four of each Sort; and they are Probity and Health; Wisdom and Beauty; good Parts and Quality; Learning and Riches. These Terms I understand here in the common and received Sense, and do not confine them to a Philosophical Nicety. By Wisdom I mean a Prudence and Discretion in the Government of our selves, and in all our Conversation and Deportment with others: By good Parts, that Capacity, and those Abilities for Business, which such Persons are known to be prepared and provided with, above others, to whom Nature hath been less bountiful. And by Learning that Knowledge of Things, which is acquired by Books and Study. The rest are so perspicuous, that they need no Explanation.

Now



Book II.



Now what a prodigious Difference do we find in the Opinions of Men, in adjusting the Place and Precedence; which is pretended to belong to these eight Things? What infinite and irreconcilable Competitions are there among them? I for my own Part, have delivered my own Judgment freely already in this Treatise; I have here mingled them together, and tack'd them to one another in such Order, that each Advantage of the Mind hath one belonging to the Body, joined; and so joined, as to be correspondent to it; for as Nature hath united Body and Soul together, so she seems to have given each of them Accomplishments extremely agreeable, and alike. Thus Health is to the Body, what Probity is to the Mind; it is the Probity or good Disposition of the Body, as Probity is the Health of the Soul. These should be the Sum of our Wishes.

*\* Forgive the Gods the rest, and stand confin'd  
To Health of Body, and a virtuous Mind.*

Says the Poet.

Beauty is commensurate to Wisdom; the just Measure, exact Proportion and Comeliness, is the Wisdom of the Body; and Wisdom is the Regularity, the Decency, the Beauty of the Soul. Quality and good Birth is a wonderful Capacity, a mighty Disposition to Virtue; and these Spiritual Abilities again, and good Parts, are the Nobility of the Mind. Learning is the Wealth of the Soul, and Riches the acquired Advantages of

*\* — Mens sana in Corpore sano.*

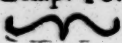
the

the Body. Others, I know, will differ from me in the Method and Order of ranging these Qualifications; for some put all the Advantages of the Mind first; and are of Opinion, that the least of these is more valuable than the best and highest of those that belong to the Body; and others, who go not so far, yet may not agree in the Preference due to each Particular. Every Man in this Case follows his own Sense, and from that we cannot but expect great Variety of Judgments will ensue.

Chap. 10.

3.  
Wise  
Choice.

In the next Place, succeeds a third Qualification, which indeed naturally springs out of the former: For, from the Sufficiency of passing a just Estimate upon Things, is derived an Ability of making a wise Choice; and this is not only a matter of Duty and Conscience, but very often an eminent Instance of Wisdom and good Conduct. There are indeed some Cases extremely plain and easy; as when Difficulty and Vice, Honesty and Profit, Duty and Interest, stand in Competition: For the Pre-eminence in this Comparison is so visible and so vast, on one Side above the other, that whenever these Things encounter each other, the Advantage lies, and the Balance should always fall to the Side of Duty, though attended with never so great Difficulty and Inconvenience: In the Case of private Persons, I mean; for possibly there may sometimes be Room for an Exception; but then this does not often happen, and if it do, 'tis generally in the Administration of publick Affairs; and then too, it must be managed with great Tendernefs and Circumspection. But of this I shall have a more proper Season to speak, when

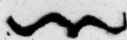
Chap. 10.  when my Third Book brings us to treat of Prudence in Particular. But sometimes there is such a Conjunction of Circumstances, that a Man is driven to a very hard Choice: As for Instance, when we stand inclos'd, as it were, with two Vices, and there is no getting clear of both. Thus History describes that eminent Father *Origen*, who had it left to him, whether he would commit Idolatry, or suffer his Body to be carnally abused by a *Moor*: The first was the Thing he chose, and some say he chose amiss. Now, when we are unhappily involved in such Perplexities, and at a loss which way we should incline, in the Choice of Matters not morally Evil; the best Rule we can be guided by, is to go over to that Side, where there is the greatest Appearance of Justice and Honesty. For, though every Thing should not afterwards succeed according to our Wish or Expectation, yet there will result so pleasing an Applause, such Glory, and Self-gratulations from within, for our having taken the better Part, as will make us ample Compensation for our Misfortunes, and abundantly support us under them: And besides all this, if the worse, but seemingly safer Side, had been chosen, what Security can we have, that the Event would have proved more favourable? And why may we not reasonably suppose, that the Governour and Lord of us, and all our Fortunes, would have been provoked to punish and disappoint us that way too? When Matters seem to be so equal, that we cannot distinguish which is the better and shorter Course, we should take that which is the plainest and straightest. And in Things manifestly Immoral (of which,



which, properly speaking, there cannot be any Choice) we must avoid that which is most detestable, and hath more of Villainy and Horror in it. For this indeed is a Point of Conscience, and is more truly a part of Probity than of Prudence. But it is very often exceeding hard to satisfy one's self, which of two Things of the same kind is the more agreeable to Justice, or to Decency, or which is preferable in point of Advantage: And so likewise of two ill Things, which is the more unjust, more indecent and dishonest, or attended with worse Consequences. Upon the whole matter then, though the Act of chusing is an Act of Probity and Conscience; yet the Ability of making this Choice aright, is a part of Prudence and sound Judgment. I am apt to believe, that in such Streights as these, the best and safest way will be to follow Nature, and to determine, that those Things which are most agreeable to Nature, are the more just and becoming; and that what is most distant from, or contrary to Nature, is more especially to be avoided and abhorred by us. This agrees well with what was formerly delivered in our Description of Probity, that we ought to be good Men by the Dictates and Impulse of Nature.

Before I go off from this Point of Choice, give me Leave to say one Word or two for the resolving a Doubt, which some People have started, with regard to the Determination of our Wills in these Cases. The Question is, When two Things are proposed so equal and indifferent, that we can give no Reason why one should be valued more than the other; what it is that disposes the Soul

Book II.



take the one, and leave the other? The *Stoicks* pretend, that it is a rash Operation of the Soul, somewhat foreign and extraordinary, and beside its proper Course. But let them say what they will, we may be bold to affirm, that there is no ground for the Question; and that no two Things ever do, or can present themselves to our Consideration, so as to be perfectly equal and indifferent to us: It frequently happens indeed, that the Difference is very small and inconsiderable; but still some Difference there is; something we apprehend in one, and not in the other, which casts the Scale, and draws us on to a Choice, though the Motion be so gentle, that we scarce feel it; and the Motive so slender, that we know not how to express, and can very hardly give our selves any Account of it. But still certain it is, that were a Man evenly poized between two Desires, he would never chuse at all: For all Choice implies Inclination of the Mind, and all Inclination supposes Inequality.

4.  
Consultation.

Another very necessary Direction in this Matter, is, that of consulting with our Friends, and taking good Advice. For there is great danger in acting upon our own Heads, and depending entirely upon our selves; others will see further, and judge better of our Affairs, than Partiality and Concern will suffer us to do. Now in this Point of consulting, there are two Cautions very necessary to be observed for the prudent Management of our selves, and the making this Method turn to Account with us.

The first regards the Choice of fit Persons to advise with: For many are much better let alone than

than applied to, and a Man is as highly concerned to be upon his Guard, and conceal his Designs from some sort of People, as he is to communicate them, and address for Counsel to others. Those then, who are proper for such Purposes, must first of all be Men of Integrity and Fidelity, that is fit to be trusted: and then they must be Men of sound Sense, sober and discreet, wise and experienced; otherwise they will not be fit to direct. Honesty and Sufficiency are the two indispensable Qualifications of good Counsellors; and indeed, to these we may add a third Consideration, which ought to weigh with us very much in our Choice; and this is, that neither they themselves, nor any of their Relations, or particular Friends, be at all concerned in the Matter we consult about. For, though you may possibly reply to this, that I have sufficiently prevented any Mischiefs of that Kind, by providing already, that they should be Persons of Integrity, and whoever is so, will not be biassed by his own, or his Friend's Interest; yet to that I must rejoin, in Justification of this Advice: First, That Honesty so staunch and firm, and Philosophical, as shall be Proof against all the Impressions of Advantage, is to be met with in very few. It is indeed what ought to be; but, as the World goes, it is rather to be wished for, than found and practis'd. And secondly, allowing the Party we consult, to have attained this Perfection of unmoveable Sincerity; yet it is neither Wisdom, nor Kindness, nor good Manners, to drive him to such Difficulties, and such Anxieties of Heart, as the asking his Advice in such Circumstances must needs involve him in.



Book II. This is what we call putting him in between the Millstones, where he must either crush himself, or us.

The other part of Caution requisite upon these Occasions, regards the receiving Advice, when our Counsellors are chosen. And this must be sure to have a patient Hearing, and kind and grateful Entertainment allowed it; we should follow, and put it in Practice betimes, and not delay till we are reduced to Extremities; we should consider, and proceed upon it with Judgment and Candor, and be well pleased that our Friends should speak their Minds freely, and declare the Truth, though it happen to be severe and unpalatable to us. When we have taken our Measures according to it, in full Confidence of the Prudence and Friendship with which it was given, we must not afterwards repine, or be sorry that we have been guided by it, though the Event shall fall short, or prove contrary to our Expectations. For it is a very common Thing for good Counsel to be very unsuccessful. But a wise Man ought to take greater Satisfaction in proper Measures, and prudent Conduct, though the Consequence be calamitous; than in the greatest good Fortune imaginable, when his Measures were false and ill-adjusted; when as the Historian observes of *Marius*; \* *The Rashness of the General was corrected by the Event, and his Fault received Honour and Commendation.* It is below a Man of Sense, and agreeable to the Character of vulgar and ignorant Souls, only to sit down and wish they had done otherwise; and, after the

\* Sic correctâ Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpâ invenit.

maturest Deliberation, and the best Choice their Case will admit, to fancy they took a wrong Course: For such People in their Crosses and Disappointments only weigh the Reasons for the contrary Methods, without having Greatness or Presence of Mind to counterbalance these with those other, once more forcible Arguments, which induced them to act as they did. Thus much was not amiss, I thought, to be hinted briefly for the use of those who want and ask Advice; but as for the Persons address'd to, the Rules fit to be observ'd by them in giving of it, shall be specified at large under the Head of Prudence. For indeed Counsel is a very considerable and extensive Branch of that Virtue.

The fifth Thing which I apprehend advisable for the prudent Management of Affairs, is a Steadiness of Temper; consisting in a middle State, between the Extremes of Confidence and Distrust, Assurance and Fearfulness. And this is necessary to be well moderated, both with regard to our selves and others.

5.  
*Moderation between Fear and Assurance.*

To repose too great Confidence in a Friend, and reckon our selves absolutely sure of him, is very often prejudicial to our Affairs; and to distrust his Ability, or his Inclination to do us Service, is offensive to him; insomuch, that where we entertain Suspicions, though never so just in themselves, yet it is not prudent to give any Demonstrations of our Jealousy. For no Man loves to be distrusted (because every Man loves to be thought to have Power and Sincerity) and therefore to betray our Distrust is sure to displease; nay, likely to provoke, and turn a Friend into an Enemy. But

Book. II.

then, on the other hand, we must be careful too, not to be so entirely depending, so lazy and secure in our Confidences, as not to be very much upon our Guard, except it be with some very choice and tried Friends: A Man never rides safe without the Reins in his own Hand; only the Skill of the Horseman must be shewn, in neither letting them hang too slack, nor drawing them too stiff. A Man should never disclose all his Thoughts and Intentions; but, so far as he thinks convenient to communicate his Mind, he should do it with Truth and Sincerity; he must by no means deceive or ensnare his Friend, and therefore let him tell true; but he must take heed too, that he be not deceived or abused himself, and therefore he should take care not to tell all. He should follow that excellent Advice of our blessed Master, to marry the Serpent with the Dove; tempering and qualifying that Innocence and Simplicity which restrains a Man from hurting others, with that Wisdom and Subtilty which keeps him from injuring himself; so standing upon one's Guard, and defending one's self against the cunning Insinuations, and treacherous Designs, and unseen Ambushments of our pretending Friends. For Policy and Stratagem is as commendable a Weapon when used Defensively, as it is dishonourable and base when Offensive. And therefore every Motion should be wary and well-advised; and in our Advances of Familiarity and Confidence, we must never engage so far, as not to secure a Retreat to our selves, whenever our Inclination shall dispose, or the Necessity of our Affairs oblige us to it: Nay, not only so; it is not enough that our Retreat be possible,



possible, but it must be safe and easy, without any great Reluctancy in our selves, or any Damage from those in whom we confided.

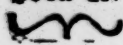
On the other hand, we should not so far be confident of our selves, as to let this grow into Security and Presumption. If we have Friends, tho' they do not bear our whole Weight, yet it is not convenient to let go our Hold; nor for any Opinion, either of our own Abilities, or the prosperous Condition of our Affairs, to disdain another's Help, or grow negligent and remiss in our own Care. And yet this is oftentimes the Case of Men, who think no body so wise as themselves, or have that Opinion of their own Power and Address, to imagine every thing will bow before, and truckle under them; that no body will dare to attempt any thing to their Prejudice or Dissatisfaction; and from these fond Possessions come to abate of their Pains, to despise all Care; and so at last are abominably over-reach'd, surprized into Mischief and Ruin, and become a Jest and publick Scorn.

Another, and that indeed a very important piece of Advice, is, to take every thing in its proper Time, while it is seasonable, and Occasion serves. And in order hereunto, we must be sure to avoid Precipitation, which is a mortal Enemy to Wisdom, the Bane and Confounder of all good Designs; and a Vice very usual, and much to be feared among People in Heat of Youth, and all others of a warm and sanguine Complexion. And in truth, the knowing how to take every thing in the nick, to lay hold on every Opportunity and Advantage, and make the best of all Times and all Means of Action, is one of the masterly Per-

6.

*The laying hold on Occasions.*

Book II.



fections of a wise and dexterous Manager. For we are to consider, that every thing hath its Season, and even the best Things, as we may order them, may be irregular, and out of due Time. Now Haste and Hurry is the most contrary to that good Quality, that can possibly be imagined; for this disorders and confounds all, and so at last spoils all. You know the common Proverb, \* *Hasty Bitches bring blind Whelps*. This Precipitation is usually the Effect of some Passion, which spurs us on too fast, and will not endure to wait till Matters are ripe for Execution; † *The Impatience of Desire puts us upon hastening, and Haste disorders and undoes all; so that this is always improvident and blind. Hastiness and Anger are the two Things in the World most distant from a sober and judicious Mind*. Such is the Account generally to be given of it; though it cannot be denied, but these hasty Proceedings are frequently owing to Weakness and want of Judgment. Now the contrary Vice of Heaviness, and Sloth, and Negligence in our Affairs, which is sometimes mistaken for Solidity, and Thought, and wise Caution, is no less dangerous and destructive to our Affairs; especially then, when all Preliminaries are adjusted, all Resolutions taken, and nothing remains but the executive Part. For it is well observed, that in Deliberation and Consultation a Man is allowed to spend a great deal of Time, because then every Particular is to be nicely weighed, every Advice canvassed, and out

\* Canis festinans cæcos parit catulos.

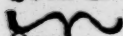
† Nam qui cupit, festinat; qui festinat, avertit; unde festinatio improvida & cæca; duo adversissima rectæ menti Celeritas & Ira.

of all compared together, the best to be pitched upon; but when we come to Action the Case is much otherwise, for the Mind is then supposed to be settled, and all Doubt over; upon which account it is, that we are commanded by the Masters of Wisdom, to be slow in Counsel, and swift in Execution; to deliberate at leisure, but to finish apace. It is true indeed, this Rule is not so universally efficacious, but that sometimes we see Events contrary to it. A Man stumbles upon Success, though he run headlong upon it; and proves as fortunate in the Event, though the Time he took to consider was very short, and the Resolves he made as rash and imprudent, as they were hasty: But this is very seldom seen, and the few Instances we have of it are owing purely to Chance; and Chance is somewhat so distant from the ordinary Course of Affairs, that a Man can never depend upon it, or govern himself by such Events. On the contrary, he should take great Care, that these lucky Hits, like a winning Hand, do not tempt us to run too great a Risque, and venture upon them boldly. For, commonly speaking, Gamesters give out Losers; and all they have to shew for their daring Hastiness, is only that Proverb, *Of resolving in Haste, and repenting at Leisure*; Ruin and a fruitless Remorse being commonly the End of such inconsiderate Undertakings.

These then are the two Extremes, which like Rocks must be avoided, and with equal Care too; for if we split upon either, our Affairs will be shipwreck'd and lost. It is as great a Fault to anticipate a fair Occasion, and snatch it while it is green and crude, as it would be to let it wither and rot  
in



Book II.



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in

Book II. in our Hands. The former is a Defect most incident to young Men, whose Spirits move briskly, and their Blood boils in their Veins, and whose Desires are so eager and impetuous, that they want Patience, and cannot be content to let Time and Providence bring things to Maturity, and work for them; and so these sprightly Men, by starting too quick, run and catch nothing; the latter is more proper to stupid Men, the cowardly and irresolute, the lazy and unactive. For there is need of a sprightly and vigilant Soul to discern and lay hold on favourable Junctures; but then at the same time that the Soul must be awake, we must see that it be not restless and impatient. A Man must look before him, descry Opportunities at a distance, keep his Eye constantly upon them, observe all the Motions they make towards him, make himself ready for their Approach; and, lying thus upon the catch, when he sees his Time, lay fast hold, and not let go again, till he hath done his Business.

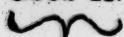
7.  
*Industry  
and For-  
tune.*

The Seventh Direction I would give at present, is, for a Man to govern himself well, and to do his Duty to the two great Disposers and Superintendants of all human Affairs; Industry, I mean, or, which in this Place comes to the same thing, Virtue and Fortune. It hath long been matter of Controversy, which of these carry the greatest Sway; and the Question never was, or will be decided to the Satisfaction of all People, for some have a greater Respect for the one, and some for the other. Thus much at least is past all Doubt, that both the one and the other do a great deal; both have Power and Credit, and both have a Title



tle indisputable to shew for it; for nothing can be more palpably false, than that either of these two does all, and the other nothing. Perhaps indeed Matters would go better, if it were not thus; and Men have reason to wish, that the whole Authority were vested in one of them singly. For then we should know what to trust to. Then our Task would be easy, because all our Thought and Diligence would be fixed and determined to one Object; whereas now we float between both, the Distraction of the Mind renders our Attempts infinitely laborious and full of Hazard, and we can very hardly attend to both, and bring them friendly to conspire together. Daily Experience proves this Truth to us; for usually those who are very much taken up with the one, disregard and perfectly despise the other. Thus the young and sanguine, the forward and daring Men keep Fortune in their Eye, and lay the main Stress there, as you see plainly by their large Hopes, and the mighty Successes they promise themselves in every Undertaking: And Fortune often rewards this Respect they pay her, and declares them her Favourites, by the many prodigious and most surprizing things wrought by them. On the other hand, Men in Years, whose Blood is cold and heavy, and they consequently calm and slow, place all their Expectations in Industry; and it cannot be denied but these act the more reasonably of the two. If a Man were disposed to compare them both together, and observe what can be alledged to determine his Choice on either Side, we may state the Matter very fairly thus. He that depends upon Industry takes the safest Side, the more virtuous,  
and

Book II.



and the more reputable: For admit that Fortune run counter, and spitefully defeat all his Diligence, yet is there still this Satisfaction left, that he hath made no false Steps, that he suffered in his proper Post, doing his Duty; and that he hath acquitted himself as became a wise and an honest Man. Those that take the other Course, are in great Danger of waiting and hoping in vain. But if all should succeed to their Hearts Desire, yet still this is none of their Doing; nor is there really any Credit or Commendation due to them for it. But indeed Wisdom takes a middle Course; she advises no Man entirely to devote himself to either of these; and though one may be preferred, yet not to that degree, as to bring the other into absolute Neglect and Contempt. For since neither can be excluded from our Affairs, it is fit we should allow both a Place in our Regard; and indeed they are often beholding to one another; and an observing Man will easily discern a great deal of mutual Assistance, and a very good Understanding between them. We must take care then to discharge our Part to both, but both do not challenge our Respects alike. For the Preference is abundantly on the Side of Industry; for, according to that old Motto, \* *Virtue should lead, and Fortune go along with us.*

- R. There is yet one necessary Caution behind, which is, in all our Behaviour to act with Discretion. For this seasons every Action, and gives it an agreeable Relish. Now Discretion is not any one particular Quality, but a large and comprehensive Virtue, that mingles with every Part of

\* Virtute duce, comite Fortunâ.

our Duty. Indiscretion spoils all; and the very best Actions, if tainted with it, lose all their Beauty and Commendation. If a Man design an Act of Beneficence or Charity, this is necessary to direct it; for neither all Kindnesses are fit to be done, nor all Persons fit to receive them. If a Man would vindicate or excuse himself, he must do it discreetly; for there are some Ways of apologizing, which, in effect, are Bills of Indictment against one's self; and increase the Suspicion, instead of clearing our Innocence. If a Man would pay Civilities, and appear courteous and well-bred, he must distinguish and moderate himself here too; otherwise he will run into the Excess of Foppery and Affectation, or degenerate into clownish Rudeness; and the same thing may be said of Offering, or Accepting, or any other Instance of Courtesy and Conversation, or indeed of Virtue in general; for without this Prudence and discreet Managery, even Virtue, and the best Intentions, can never recommend, nay, can scarce justify themselves to the Spectators.

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C H A P. XI.

*The Fruits, or Good Effects of Wisdom.*

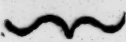
*The First,*

*Living in a constant Readiness for Death.*

THE Day of our Death is the principal and most important of any that belongs to us; that which gives the finishing Stroke, and fixes the

1.  
*The Day of  
Death.*



Book II.  the Character upon all the rest; for indeed all the Actions of our whole Life must be submitted to this Test. This is most truly what we commonly call it, *The Great Trial*; the Essay, that distinguishes our Alloy and true Standard; and it is in the good Success of this Trial, that we are to expect the greatest Fruit of all our Studies. In order to make a true Judgment of Life, we must of necessity inform our selves what sort of Conclusion it hath; for the End compleats and crowns the Work; and as a good Death is an Honour to our whole Life, so an ill one casts back Infamy, and sullies all that went before. You can never give a just Character of the Player, till his Part be at an End; and the Case of common Life is so far the same, that the Management of the last Act is incomparably the most difficult of any that belongs to either of them. *Epaminondas*, one of the bravest Men that ever *Greece* bred, when his Opinion was asked, To which of the three he thought the Preference due, *Chabrias*, *Ipbicrates*, or himself; made answer, That this was a Question incapable of being resolved; for (says he) the Man that would determine justly of such a Competition for Honour, must stay till he hath seen how we all three die. The Reason is evident; because every other Action of a Man's Life is capable of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, but in this last Scene alone, all is natural, and no Room left for Counterfeit or Disguise.

\* For then Mens Words will with their Thoughts

[agree;

And, all the Mask pull'd off, shew what they be.

CREECH.

Fortune, in truth, seems to way-lay us here, to drive us upon this her last Reserve; to make the utmost Effort upon our Virtue, and in one Moment overturn all that Character and Credit which we have for many Years with infinite Toil and Anxiety been setting up. Oh what a Triumph it would be then, to make a Man expire with *Labe-rius's* Exclamation; † *I have lived this one Day more, than it was for my Honour and Advantage to have lived!* So truly as well as wisely, so every way worthy of *Solon*, was that Observation made to *Cræsus*, which one of the Poets hath illustrated thus:

|| ——— *Man must censured be by his last Hour,  
Whom truly we can never happy call,  
Before his Death, and closing Funeral.*

SANDYS.

'Tis, without all dispute, a most excellent At-  
tainment, to have learnt how to die: It is the Stu-

2.  
*Of know-  
ing how to  
die.*

\* *Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo  
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur Persona, manet res.*

LUCRET. *Lib. III.*

† *Nimirum hâc die unâ plus vixi mihi, quàm vivendum fuit.*

|| ——— *Scilicet ultima semper  
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus  
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.*

dy

Book II. dy of true Wisdom, and that in which all its Rules, and all its Labours determine: He that hath laid out his whole Life upon it, hath put it to no ill Use; and he, who among all the rest of his Qualifications, is not Master of this, hath thrown away all his Time and Pains to no manner of Purpose. *That Man can never live well, who knows not how to die well; and he hath lived to very good Purpose, who makes a happy End, (says Seneca.)* A Man can no more govern and direct his Actions as he ought, who does not keep Death in his Eye; than an Archer can shoot well, who never looks at the Mark. In one word, the Art of Dying, as becomes us, is the Art of Liberty, and an easy Mind; the way to get above all Fear, and to live in perfect Happiness and Tranquillity; without this there is no Pleasure in Life; it is impossible indeed there should; for who can enjoy that with Peace and Satisfaction, which he esteems most valuable and dear, and is tormented with perpetual anxious Fear of losing every Moment?

3. Now the first and principal Step towards this, is to make it our Care and constant Endeavour, that our Vices may die before us; and then our next Care must be, to live in constant Readiness and Expectation of dying our selves. Who can express the happy Condition of that Man, who hath husbanded his Talent, and finish'd the Business of Life, before Death approach to interrupt him? So that when he comes to die, he hath nothing else to do but to die; no occasion to ask longer Time; no farther Business for this Body; no need of any thing; but can walk out of the World



World pleased and satisfied, like a Guest after a full Meal: All this I take to be comprehended in the Notion of our being always in a Readiness for Death: There remains yet one Qualification more to be attained, which is the being willing, as well as ready; for no Man dies well, who goes out of the World with such Loathsomeness and Reluctancy, that it is meer matter of Constraint; and plain, he would fain, but cannot stay here any longer.

The several Sentiments and sorts of Behaviour, which Men are capable of with regard to Death, may, in my Opinion, be reduced to these five that follow:

4.  
Five Sorts  
of Behaviour  
our with  
regard to  
Death.

1. They may fear and avoid it, as the last and greatest Evil.

2. They may expect and wait for it with great Easiness and Patience, and Resignation of Mind, as for a Thing which they look upon as natural, unavoidable, and not only necessary, but also reasonable to be undergone.

3. They may despise it, as a Matter indifferent, and of no great Concern to them.

4. They may wish for it, pray for it, make toward it, as the only safe Harbour which can give them Rest and Protection from the Troubles of this Life; nay, as that which will not only be a Deliverance, but a Happiness; a mighty Advantage, as well as a perfect Security.

5. They may bring it upon themselves.

Now, if we examine these Particulars, the second, third, and fourth will appear commendable and good; the Thoughts and Resentments of a virtuous and judicious Mind; though it must be allowed, that as they differ from each other, so

Book II. they are expected to move and affect the Man differently, according to his present Circumstances. For all of them are not commendable equally, and at all Times. But for the first and last, they never are, or can be so at all; as being the vicious Extremes of Weakness and want of Virtue; for how different soever the Effects may appear, this is the same common Cause of them both. I shall enlarge a little, and try to illustrate each of these Particulars, in this Chapter.

5.  
*Fear of  
Death.*

The first is what no understanding Person hath ever pretended to approve, though indeed it be the Practice (the failing I ought to say) of almost all the World. And what can be a greater Reproach? What a more undeniable Evidence of the Weakness of Mankind, than that every Body in a manner should be guilty of that, which no Body dares undertake to defend? But on the contrary, against those who labour under this painful Folly, in Tenderness for themselves; or are thus concerned upon the Account of others, we can never want plenty of Arguments. Among others, these following Considerations may perhaps do something toward softning the Approach of our own Death, or that of our Friends to us. There is not in the World any Calamity, which Mortals have such amazing Notions, and live in such constant Terror of, as Death; and yet it is very evident, there is nothing they call a Misfortune, dreaded upon such poor, such insignificant Grounds; nay, I must revoke these Words, *Dreading* and *Misfortune* too; and dare venture to affirm, there is not any Thing which ought to be received with greater Satisfaction, and a more re-

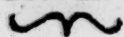
solved

*The Effect  
of vain O-  
pinion.*

solved Mind. So that we must be forced to confess, in despite of all the Sophistry of Flesh and Blood to the contrary, that this is a mere vulgar Error; Opinion hath charm'd and captivated all the World; for Reason hath no hand at all in it. We take it upon Trust from the ignorant and unthinking Multitude, and believe it a very great Evil, because they tell us so; but Wisdom assures us, that it is a Deliverance and sure Repose from all the Evils that can possibly befall us; the only Haven where we can lie safely, after the Waves and Storms of a troublesome tossing World; and we turn the deaf Ear, and believe not one word she can say. Thus much is certain: Death, when actually present, never did any body hurt; and none of those many Millions, who have made the Experiment, and know what it is, have made any Complaints of this Nature concerning it. If then Death must be called an Evil, it hath this to say in its own Vindication; that of all the Evils which are, or ever were in the World, this is the only one that does no body Harm; and in Truth, the mighty Dread of it proceeds merely from ghastly and monstrous Ideas, which Mens vain Imaginations form of it at a Distance. There is nothing of Foundation or Reality at the bottom; 'tis all Opinion and Fancy; nay, 'tis the very Instance, in which Opinion pretends most to set up against Reason; and attempts to fright us out of our Wits, by shewing the hideous Vizard of Death: For, Reason to fear it there can be none, because we are so perfectly ignorant what it is. How unaccountable is our Concern, how almost impossible indeed, for a Thing, of which we have little or



Book II.



no Notion? Upon which Account, he, who had *Apollo's* Testimony for the wisest Man living, said, that to fear Death, was to pretend to be more knowing than one really was, and a vain Affectation of Wisdom; for it was to make the World believe a Man understands a Thing, which neither he, nor any body else understands: And we find, that this was his real Sense, by the Testimony his Practice gave to it. For when his Friends importuned him to plead for his Life, and justify himself against the Calumnies of his Accusers, the Address he made upon that Occasion, we are told, was to this Effect.

“ Gentlemen. If I should make it my Request, That you would not put me to Death, I am under some Apprehensions of asking a Punishment, instead of a Favour; and suing to my own Disadvantage. For I must ingenuously confess, I do not at all know what it is to Die, nor what Good or Ill is consequent upon it. They who fear Death, must in Reason presuppose some Notices of it; for my own Part, I declare I have none; nor can I tell at all, either what sort of Passage that is, which leads into the other World, or how Matters stand there; so that for ought I know to the contrary, both the one and the other, the Condition and the Way to it, may be exceeding desirable, and full of Felicity; as for those Things which I know to be Evil, such as Injustice and Wrong, I have the greatest Abhorrence of them, and avoid them with all possible Circumspection and Care; but for such as I know nothing of, I know as little how to hate, or to fear them.

Now

“ Now Death I own is one of these; and there-  
 “ fore, Gentlemen, I leave the Matter wholly to  
 “ you. For really I cannot be satisfied, whe-  
 “ ther is best for me to die, or not to die;  
 “ and therefore I hope you will order what is  
 “ really best; and I am perfectly content you  
 “ should determine and dispose of me as you think  
 “ fit.

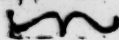
And why this mighty Trouble and Concern up-  
 on the account of Death? This in the first Place  
 is most despicable Weakness, and scandalous Cow-  
 ardice; the meekest Woman, the most tender-  
 hearted Wretch alive can compose her self in a  
 few Days, and put an end to the justest Passion,  
 for the loss of a Husband, or a Child; and what a  
 Disparagement is it to Reason and Wisdom, that  
 they should not effect that presently, which in a  
 little while will do it self? The most ignorant and  
 poor-spirited Man alive can do it with the help of  
 Time; and why should not a wise and brave Man  
 do it without that Advantage? For what is Wis-  
 dom, and Resolution, and Gallantry of Soul good  
 for, or how shall we distinguish it, if it do not  
 quicken a Man's Pace, and render him more ex-  
 pert and dextrous; so that he shall be able to do  
 greater Things, and to dispatch them with greater  
 Ease and Speed than others, who are destitute of  
 these Accomplishments? From the same Weak-  
 ness and Irresolution it is, that the Generality of  
 dying Men are never sensible of their last Hours;  
 but flatter themselves with Expectations of per-  
 fect Recovery, or longer Delay at least; and per-  
 haps there is no one Passage of our Lives compa-  
 rable to this part for Cheat and Delusion; none

Chap. 11.  
 6. [Of Weak-  
 ness.]

M m m 3

that

Book II.



that equally soothes and amuses us with vain Hopes. Not that I ascribe this wholly to Weakness neither; for possibly Vanity may contribute a great deal toward it. We look upon our Death, as a matter of mighty Consequence, a strange and most important Revolution; in which the whole World is concerned; and can scarce be brought to imagine, that Providence will permit a Calamity, in which all Nature must suffer, and this orderly and beautiful System of the Universe, end and perish. So extravagant are the Notions we entertain of our selves, and of the Importance we are of to God and the World.

7.  
*Of Injustice.*

Besides all this, such a Man is evidently guilty of Injustice. For if Death be really a good and a desirable Thing, Wherefore are we afraid of it? And if it be otherwise, why do we make it worse? This is to aggravate and multiply upon our selves the very Thing we pretend most to be afraid of; and to create new Pains and Torments, which Death knows nothing of, nor would ever bring upon us. This is a fool-hardy Madness, like his, who, when an Enemy had robbed him of one part of his Goods, threw the rest into the Sea, to shew how little he valued the Injury his Plunderer had done him.

8.  
*'Tis prejudicial to Life.*

Lastly, To live in fear of Death, is the greatest Injury a Man can be guilty of to himself; the spightfullest way of destroying his own Life. For no Man, who hath this Dread perpetually upon him, can ever have any tolerable Enjoyment of himself or the World. He only lives truly free and at Ease, who is got above the Fears of Death: And on the other hand, Life were no better than perpetual

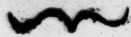


petual Slavery, if the Liberty of dying were taken away. Death is in Effect the only Foundation and Support of all the Freedom we can make any Pretensions to; the sure and common Retreat from all our Sufferings and Hardships. A Man therefore must needs be very wretched and uneasy (and yet thus wretched are almost all Mankind) who takes off the Quiet and Enjoyment of Life, by an anxious Concern and Fear to die; and loses all the Benefit of Death too, by an immoderate Fondness, and afflicting Solitude for Life.

9.

And yet, as full of Discontent as People generally are with the present Order and Constitution of Things; what loud Complaints, what eternal Murmurings may we very reasonably suppose would have filled their Mouths, if it had been otherwise? How would Nature and Providence have been cursed, condemned and blasphemed, if Men had been under a fatal Necessity of dwelling always here, whether they would or no; and no such kind Relief as Death is, had been provided for them? Think with your self, how much more insupportable, how much more grievous and burdensome a Life must needs be without any Period assign'd for it; than that Life we now lead, which is attended with a Necessity of leaving it, but of laying down the Load that oppresses us along with it too? To this Purpose it is, that the Poets tell us, *Chiron* refused to be Immortal, when it was proffer'd him, upon receiving Information from the God of Time (his Father *Saturn*) what hard Conditions the Gift was clogged with. On the other hand, What would become of the World, if there were not something of Pain and Bitter-

Book II.



ness, which should discourage us, and create in us some Aversion to Dying? There is no Doubt to be made, but were it not for this check upon our Nature, Men would run out of the World eagerly, greedily embrace Death, and upon every little Pet take Sanctuary here, without any manner of Judgment or Distinction, how far the Provocation ought to carry them. We must therefore upon second Thoughts confess, that this Mixture is made with Discretion, fit to preserve us in a due Moderation; so as neither to be fond of Life, nor peevishly weary of it; and so again, as neither to be afraid of Death, nor to court and hasten to it; both the one and the other are temper'd with sweet, and allay'd with bitter; enough of the one to recommend and make it tolerable; and so much of the other too, as will keep it from being the Object of any Passion in Extremes. So necessary are the Ingredients, so just the Proportions; so skilful, and withal so tender of our Good, the Hand that mingled them.

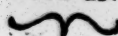
10.

Now the Remedy which the Vulgar prescribe against the Fears I have been condemning, is much too dull and stupid; For they advise a Man to banish all Uneasiness of this Kind, by striving to forget the Occasion of them, and drawing off the Mind to something else. 'Tis upon this Account, that you find them always bid their Friends never Think of Death, and can by no means bear to hear it named: But sure this is for many Reasons a very improper Prescription. For, in the first Place, such an odd careless Temper as this, is somewhat so contrary to a Man of Parts and Judgment, somewhat so like a State of Thoughtlessness and

Insens-

Insensibility, that none but the ignorant and the heavy seem capable of the Medicine: Application and good Sense cannot doze away a Life at this Rate. But if every Body could bear the Physick, yet what Operation, what good Effect is to be expected from it? Where would all this end at last, and what a miserable Account should we find when we come to the Upshot, and feel how dear this Course hath cost us? For do but imagine the Condition of a Man surprized by Death; the Tears, the Agonies, the Groans and Lamentations, the Rage, the Despair, in a word, the inexpressible Confusion of being seiz'd all on the sudden, by a merciless, invincible, and unseen Enemy. These are such dreadful Circumstances, that Wisdom sure gives much safer and better Advice, in directing Men to stand their Ground; to face their Enemy; to observe his Approaches; and provide for the Combat. Nay rather indeed, to encounter him perpetually, by following a Method the direct contrary to that of the Vulgar; which is, by fixing their Eyes and Thoughts steadily upon Death; to converse and grow intimately acquainted with it; to render it gentle and tame by Familiarity and long Use. To carry the Idea and the strongest Representations of it that we can possibly form, constantly about with us. To harden our selves in the Expectation of it; and that not only in times of Sicknes and Danger, where we have reason to suspect our selves; but in our most confirm'd Health; in the midst of what we call Safety. Death should not be the Companion of our black and fullen, and melancholy Hours only; but of our greatest Gaieties, best Humour, and most





most solemn Entertainments and Delights. The Sauce to every Dish, the Burden to every Song should be this Reflection; that we are always in Danger, set as fair Marks, and that Death is aiming at us; that several others have been snatch'd away, who thought themselves as far out of the reach of his Dart, as we can suppose our selves to be now in the Height of all our Jollity; that an Accident, which happen'd at one Time, or to one Person, may as well happen to another: And thus we are advised by the wisest Men, to check our Pleasures, and abate our blind Security, by imitating, as well as supplying by these never unseasonable Meditations, that \* ancient Custom of the *Ægyptians*, who at their Feasts served up a Death's-head; and that of Christians, and other Persuasions too, who contrive that their Burying-places shall join to their Temples, or be in some other Parts the most conspicuous and frequented of any: The Original whereof seems to have been, that these publick Monuments might awaken Mens Minds, and preserve the Reflections and Remembrances of Death always fresh and vigorous. Where Death awaits us, is very uncertain; and therefore we

\* *According to the Custom of the Egyptians, &c.* The Meaning of this Custom is very often misunderstood, and misapplied. For whereas the bringing this Death's-head into the Company at publick Entertainments, is frequently look'd upon as done with a Design to check the Excesses of Mirth with this melancholy, but never unseasonable Reflection: Both *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, and *Plutarch* in his *Traët de Isid. & Osiride*, give a quite different Account of the Matter; and report it to have been done for the heightning of their Jollity; by considering, that their Time was but short, and therefore they ought to make the best of it. This Emblem in Effect speaking that Maxim of the Epicure, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.*

should

should expect to meet it every where, and every Moment; and make such constant and sure Provision against its Coming, that let it steal upon us never so cunningly, never so suddenly, it may find us always in Readiness. This is no such mortifying Exercise as some fondly imagine; quite otherwise, it rather sweetens Life, and recommends its Enjoyments, by setting us above the Fears, and Disappointments, and amazing Terrors, which worldly and sensual Men feel and labour under. It abates our Losses, by foreseeing and preparing for them; and it doubles our Advantages, by looking upon them as clear Gains, and adding a pleasing sort of Surprize to the Fruition. Thus the Poet very justly hath observed to his Friend:

Chap. 11.

*\* While 'midst strong Hopes and Fears thy Time doth  
Think every rising Sun will be thy last. [waste,  
And so the grateful unexpected Hour  
Of Life prolong'd, when come, will please thee more.*

CREECH.

But that we may not be thought guilty of Injustice, in condemning People unheard, let us examine a little into the Grievances they complain of, and the Excuses they make for themselves upon this Occasion; and then it will appear, how frivolous and foolish all the Apologies are, by which they would palliate their Fears, and put some specious Colour upon their melancholy Apprehensions. And here you may observe throughout, that

11.

*\* Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,  
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.*

HOR. Lib. I. Ep. iv.

Men

Book II. Men are generally ashamed to own their being afraid to die, simply considered; and therefore they bethink themselves of some aggravating Circumstance or other, by which they hope to justify their uneasy Dread for themselves, or their inordinate Grief for their Friends, who have been taken from them.

1. The First of these is dying young, and this they think a very lamentable Case; for what Reflection can be more disturbing, than that Death should snatch them rudely before their Time, that he should crop this lovely Fruit, while green and in the Bud, and mow down the Glory of the Field, before it was ripe for the Sickle? This indeed is a Complaint most usual, most becoming mean and vulgar Souls, who measure every thing by the Length, and count nothing valuable, but that which lasts a great while: Whereas on the contrary, we find, that Things rare, and excellent, and exquisite in their Kind, are generally the most fine, and subtle, and subject to Dissolution and Decay. 'Tis esteemed a Master-piece in Art, to contract a great deal into a narrow Room; and God and Nature have so far taken the same Method in their choicest Pieces, that a Man would almost think it a Fate upon extraordinary Persons to be short-liv'd. Eminent Virtue, great Parts and Attainments, and Old-Age very seldom meet together. But the solid Comfort is, that the true Estimate of Life is to be taken from its Use and End; and if it be well employed and well finish'd, all the rest hath its due Proportion. Years are good for nothing but to make a larger Sum; nor does the Number of them contribute one whit to the rendering



rendering Life more or less happy, more or less desirable. But the shortest Term is capable of Virtue and Felicity, and hath its proper Perfections, which are no more increased by Quantity, than the Largeness of the Circumference makes the Perfection of a Circle: The least Round is as truly so as the greatest; and as the Figure in Lines, so the Quality and Manner in Life, does all. A Man of small Limbs and low Stature, is as truly a Man as the tallest Giant that ever Story described; and, to be short, neither Men nor their Lives are to be estimated by their Bulk and Length, but by having all their Parts entire, and every Qualification requisite or possible to the Condition of their Nature.

Another could be well enough content to die, but to do this in a remote Country, at a distance from all his Relations; to be cut off with a violent Death, and have his Carcass lie unburied, and stink above ground; this is what he cannot bear; and sure every body must allow such a Death to have a world of Horror in it, in comparison of that gentle and easy Passage which those have who die in Peace and Quietness, by the slow and gradual Decays of Age, or such as we call dying a natural Death at least, decently and in their Beds, with their Relations and Friends about them; taking and giving the last solemn Ceremonies of Parting, comforting those they leave behind, and receiving Support, and Assistance, and Consolation from them. Now, how reasonable or natural soever these Notions may seem, 'tis evident all Mankind are not of the same Opinion. How many brave Men do we see every Day, who follow the

Book II.

the Wars, and contend for the Post of Honour in the Engagement, without any of these tender Thoughts? They put themselves in the Way of dying, when Life and Vigor are at their highest Pitch; they go into a foreign Land for Graves, and think the Heaps of Slain, and the Throng of fallen Enemies the noblest Monument; so far are they from grieving that they cannot lie among their Family and their Friends. And as for the Terrors of a violent Death, they are exceeding childish and vain; and would easily be cured, could we prevail with our selves to see Things as they are. For, as little Children cry and tremble at Men in Vizors, but are presently quiet, and lay aside their Fears, as soon as you uncover their Faces; so it is here. Remember then, Man, that Fire, and Sword, and all other Instruments of Violence, and Casualties, and surprizing Aggravations of this kind, are only the hideous Disguise of Death, a Vizor put on to affright us; but all this Effect is owing to the dismal Ideas we form to our selves; for take but off this Mask, and you will find that Death is always one and the same. And he who dies in Battel, or is burnt in his Bed, he that falls in an instant by the Hand of an Executioner, and he that expires upon a Rack, meet all in the self-same State, though they do not come into it the same Way; and die the very Death that Women and Children, and all that seem to us to depart in the easiest, gentlest, and most peaceable Manner, die. The Difference lies only in the Pomp and Noise, the Preparation and Prefacing of Death; but let the Ceremonies be what they will,

in

in the Substance and Thing itself, there neither is, nor can be any Difference at all.

Another sore Grievance is their Concern to leave the World. But what Occasion of Grief is there in this? Alas! here is nothing new; all your Curiosity hath been satisfied over and over; and you have seen all that is to be seen already. Each Day is equal and exactly alike to every other Day. Four and twenty Hours bring the World round, the same Succession of Light and Darkness: There is no fresh Sun to be lighted up, nor any other Course or Revolution, than what Nature hath travelled in from the very Beginning. But put the longest Period the Thing can bear, and one Year is sure to present you with all the Vicissitudes: In the Change of these Seasons you see the several Stages of the World and your own Life; the Sprightliness of Infancy, and a new-born Universe in the Spring; the gay and chearful Youth of Summer; the Maturity and Manhood of Autumn, and the decrepid Age, the Decays and Deformity of a dying World in Winter. All the Trick is to play this Farce over again; and begin where this time Twelve-month we left off. So that they who live longer, do not see any more Objects than others, but only more of the same Objects oftner repeated to them.

But Friends and Relations are very dear to us, and it is a hard thing to part with these. Never fear, Man, thou wilt find a great many of thy Family and Acquaintance in the Place whither thou art going. Thou art rather parted from thy Friends here at present; for the Number of those thou leavest behind, is not comparable to those thou

wilt



Book II. wilt meet in another World. Thy Acquaintance will be infinitely increased, and abundance of thy Kindred are there, whom yet thou hast never seen. All, who were too little, or too great; too remote, or too much before thy Time, to be known and taken notice of here. And as for those, whose Correspondence is sweet and valuable now, remember that the Separation is like to be very short; for they too are travelling the same Road, and follow thee apace to thy Journeys End.

5. Oh! but a Man hath a Family of dear pretty Children, and what will become of these poor Orphans? What a world of Difficulties must all this sweet Innocence struggle with? How will they be exposed for want of a Parent's Care? What a Prey will they be made, if they have Fortunes? And if they have none, How will they be supported, or where will they find the Kindness of Inspection and good Advice? For they who are destitute of a Competence, and stand most in need of Friends, are least likely to have their Assistance. This is surely a very cutting Consideration, a natural Anxiety, and a necessary Consequence of those tender Regards thought due to a Man's Posterity.

But hark you, my Friend, consider again, whose Children these are; Are they not God's as well as yours? Nay, Are they not his a great deal more than yours? He hath an original Right in them; He is their true, their first Father; you are only so in a subordinate Sense, as one who by his Permission were an instrumental Cause of their Being. He is able to provide for his own Family, never fear it: All your Care without his Blessing is vain

and of no Significance while you live; but though his Assistance be necessary to you, yours is not in any degree so to him. He will feel no Difficulty at all in sustaining these Orphans, when you are taken from them. Every Condition, and all Times are equal to Omnipotence. And if you cannot question his Power, have you any Pretence to doubt his Disposition? You have daily Experience of this; they subsist by his Bounty even now; his Bowels are not less tender than yours; and as he is more truly and properly, so he is a more, infinitely more affectionate Father to them, than your self are: It is most absurd to think, that you can either do, or wish better for them than he. Nay, if upon any other Consideration such an Imagination could be endured, yet even common Experience contradicts it. Do but observe the Circumstances of such as seem to be left entirely upon Providence, destitute of all human Advantages; and you shall find more thriving Men in the World, more that have been raised to great Honours, and eminent Posts, and plentiful Fortunes, who have had nothing but his Favour, and their own Industry to depend upon, than others, who begun upon good Funds, and thought they might reasonably promise themselves much greater Success. So particularly, so visibly is he the Father of the Fatherless.

But it may be you are afraid to venture into this dark Place all alone. Never trouble your self; you need not fear a solitary Journey. That Road is always very full of Company. There are abundance of Men that die when you do; nay more than you can imagine, set out the very same Hour with you.

To be short, You are going to a Place, where you shall be sure never to grudge at the Loss of this Life. For what Room, what Pretence can there be for any such Discontent? If a Man who hath felt all the Troubles of Life, had it in his Choice, whether he would live the same over again, without all Controversy he would refuse it. And, if before one is first called into Being he could see and know what he is going about, he would rather chuse to sleep in Non-entity. \* *Were People thoroughly acquainted with the Conditions and Incumbrances of Living, no body (says a wise Man) would accept Life upon those Terms.* What ground of Dissatisfaction then can occur to them who have felt and suffered under these? What Temptation can they have to wish a second Torment, or to repine that their first was not of a longer Continuance? The old Philosophers fixed upon this Argument for Comfort, and thought it an irrefragable one: Either we are nothing at all after Death, or we are in a much better State than at present; and either way we have Reason to be well content to die, because either way Death puts an End to all our Suffering and Pain. “ There is, I confess, “ a great Alteration in the Case, when we come “ to consider the Matter as Christians; because “ thus we are assured that there is a State infinitely worse, than the most exquisite and most durable Miseries of this Life. But then this is “ what we have fair Warning of, and may avoid “ if we please. A Christian who lives as he ought, “ is better fortified with Arguments against the

\* Vitam nemo acciperet, si daretur scientibus.



“ Fear of Death, than any other Person can be. Chap. 11.  
 “ And they who will not live so, have no Reason  
 “ to repine; for even thus, the shorter the Life,  
 “ the less the Measure of their Iniquities; and the  
 “ Damn’d themselves would not wish to live again,  
 “ but upon a Supposition, that they should live  
 “ better than before. But be that State to which  
 “ Death turns such Men over never so dreadful,  
 “ yet since this is a Misery of their own making,  
 “ it comes not within the Compass of our present  
 “ Argument, which only undertakes to shew that  
 “ Death hath nothing formidable, so far as Na-  
 “ ture and Providence are concern’d in it.” And  
 that comes to thus much, and no more. You came  
 out of Death, that is, out of a State of Insensibi-  
 lity, into Life, a Scene of Business and Action;  
 and this you did without any Horror, or Passion,  
 or the least Disorder; you are now going back a-  
 gain into the former Condition of Sleep and Ina-  
 ctivity. Travel then the Way you came, with  
 the same Unconcernedness you did before. For  
 after all, \* *What mighty Calamity can it be, to re-  
 turn from whence you came, and where you lay hid  
 for many Ages?*

It may be the Ghastliness of Death affrights you, 8.  
 because dying Persons make but a very ill Figure.  
 ’Tis true, you see their Countenance discomposed,  
 their Features distorted with Convulsions, and all  
 their Body struggling and labouring under Agonies  
 and Pains. But all this is only that ugly Vizor,  
 which (as I said before) Death puts on to scare  
 us; it is not Death itself in its own natural Visage,

\* *Reverti unde veneris quid grave est?*

Book II.

for that hath nothing of Horror or Deformity, but is all Quietness and Composure. We send our Senses and Passions out to discover this unknown Land, and they, like cowardly Spies, bring us an ill Report of the Country. They never penetrated far enough to get true Intelligence; they speak nothing of their own Knowledge, but make a Report only from the common Rumour of ignorant People, and their own Fears.

9. But it snatches so many things away from us, or rather it takes us away from them; nay, takes us away from our selves, removes us from all that we have been so long acquainted with, and accustom'd to, and puts us in a State of Darkness and Horror, such as we have no Knowledge of; and from this Condition of Light, shuts us up in eternal Night: In a word, It is our End, the Ruin, the Dissolution of our Persons. These are the cutting Considerations which Men aggravate to themselves, and magnify the terrible Ideas. To all which we may return a sufficient Answer in one word; by saying, That Death being the necessary Law and Condition of human Nature, from which there is no Possibility of an Escape, (as will be shewn hereafter) it is to no purpose to dispute, or create these Uneasinesses to our own Minds; and wretchedly foolish to torment our selves with Fears of a Thing, which there is no getting quit of. Things that are doubtful and contingent may be a proper Object of Fear; but for those that are fix'd and irreversible, we have nothing to do but to sit down, and expect, and prepare to meet them. But waving that, I rather chuse to observe at present, how extremely mistaken these Men are in their Account;  
for

for the Matter is in very Truth, the direct reverse of all the terrible Representations these Persons form to themselves. For Death, instead of taking away from us all that is valuable and dear, puts into our Possession all we are capable of receiving; instead of taking us from our selves, it enlarges us from our Confinement, and restores our Souls to perfect Liberty and true Enjoyment; instead of locking us up in the dark, it sets us in the clearest and brightest Light, and serves us as we use to deal by the Fruits, when we take off the Skin, or Shell, or other Covering, that so we may see, and use them, and taste their natural Excellence. It removes us out of a strait inconvenient Dwelling, from a dark, and rheumatick, and diseased Place, where we can see but a very little Spot of Heaven, and only receive Light by Reflection, and at a vast Distance, through two little Holes of our Eyes, into a Region of absolute Liberty, confirmed and uninterrupted Health, perpetual and incessant Light, a Sun that never sets, and endless Day without any gloomy Intervals: \* A Place where our Faculties shall be enlarged, and all Heaven will display itself to us; where we shall not only see Light, but dwell with it in its own proper Sphere. In a word, it delivers us from the very thing we dread most, by making us immortal, and putting a final and full Conclusion to that Death, which took place from the Instant we came into the World, and was finish'd at our Passage into Eternity.

\* *Æqualiter tibi splendebit omne Cœli latus. Totam lucem suo loco prope totus aspicias; quam nunc per angustissimas oculorum vias procul intueris & miraris.*



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\* For the Day we have such dreadful Apprehensions of, as if it were to be our last, is really our first, the joyful Birth-day into a Life which can never have an End.

12. We come now to consider the second Sort of Resentment, which Men are affected with upon the account of Death; which is, waiting for, and entertaining it with contented and chearful Minds, when it comes. This is indeed the Quality of a good, a gentle, and well-governed Spirit; and the Practice of it is peculiar to a plain, easy way of Living, and to Persons, who, as they make the best of Life, and enjoy the Quiet of it, so know very well how to esteem it as it deserves; but still they make Reason the Standard of all their Affections and Actions; and, as they are well satisfied to stay here, so they readily obey, when Providence thinks fit to call them out of the World. This is a Medium very justly temper'd, a masterly Greatness of Soul; and such an Indifference to all here below, as a Life of Retirement and Peace seems best qualified for; and the two Extremes between which it lies, are Desiring and Dreading, Courting and Running away from Death; according to that of the Poet:

† *With Courage firm, and Soul sedate,  
Attend the Motions of thy Fate;  
And whether Death be far or near,  
Live free from eager Wish, and anxious Fear.*

\* Dies iste, quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis est.

† Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

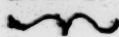
Now

Now these Extremes, except there be some very particular and uncommon Reason to give them countenance, are both of them vicious and exceeding blameable; and when I come hereafter to speak of this Matter in its proper Place, you will see, that nothing less than a very extraordinary Cause can render them so much as excusable. To desire and pursue Death is very criminal; for it is very unjust to throw away one's Life without a sufficient Reason; it is spiteful to the World, and injurious to our Friends, to grudge them the longer Use and Continuance of a thing which may be serviceable to them: It is the blackest Ingratitude to God and Nature, thus to slight and throw back again, the best and most valuable Present they can make us, as if it were a Trifle, or a Burden, not worth our keeping: It savours too much of Peevishness and Pride, and shews us humourfome and difficult, when we cannot be easy, and bear the Lot that falls to our Share; but will needs quit our Hands of the Station God hath called us to, when there is nothing extraordinary to render it cumbersome. And on the other hand, to fear and flee Death, when summoned to it, is an Offence against Nature, Justice, Reason, and every Branch of our Duty; since Dying is natural, necessary, and unavoidable, reasonable and just.

First, It is natural; it is a Part of that great Scheme, by which the Order of the Universe is established and maintained, and the whole World lives and subsists. And who are we, that all this Regularity should be broken, and a new System contrived in our favour? Death is really one of the principal and most material Articles in the Consti-

13.  
*Dying is  
Natural.*

Book II.



tution and Administration of this vast Republick; and of infinite Use and Advantage it is, for determining the Continuance, and promoting a constant Succession of the Works of Nature. The Failure of Life in one Instance propagates it afresh in a thousand others.

*\* Thus Life and Death successive keep their Round,  
Things die to live, and by Decays abound.*

But, which comes nearer home, Death is not only a Part of this great Complex and universal Nature, but of thy own Nature in particular; and that every whit as essential a Part, as that Birth which gave thee Life. So that in cherishing an Aversion, and running away from this, thou attemptest to flee from thy own self. Thy Being is divided equally between Death and Life; these are the two Proprietors, and each claims a Share, and hath an indefeasible Right in every one of us. These are the Terms upon which thou wert created, and Life was given with a Purpose, and upon Condition of being taken away; rather indeed it was only lent, and, like all other Trusts or Debts, must be demanded back, and may be called in at pleasure. If then the Thoughts of dying discontent thee, consider, that the Hardship does not lie here; but carry thy Reflections higher, and be concerned that ever thou wast born. For, either there is no Cause of Repining in either Case, or else the Ground of all the Complaint lies in having lived at all. You had Neighbours Fare, and pur-

*\* Sic Rerum Summa novatur.*

chas'd



chas'd Life at the Market Price; which is, the Chap. II.  
laying it down again; no body hath it cheaper;  
and therefore they who do not like the Bargain,  
and are loth to go out again, should have refused  
at first, and never come into the World at all.  
But this is what Men were they capable of such a  
Choice, would never do, if their Fondness of Life  
be so excessively great. The first Breath you  
drew bound you fast; and all the Advances you  
made toward a more perfect Life, were so many  
Steps towards Death at the same Time.

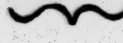
\* *As soon as born we die; and our Lives end  
Upon its first Beginning does depend.*

MANIL. Ast. 4.

To be concern'd then that we must die, is to be  
concern'd that we are Men, for every one that is  
so, is Mortal. And upon the Strength of this  
Impression it was, that a wise Man, when the  
News of his Son's Death was brought him, re-  
ceived it with all the Sedateness and seeming Un-  
concernedness that could be, and only made this  
calm Reply; *I knew very well that my Child was  
Mortal.* Since then Death is a Thing so natural,  
so essential to all Nature in general, and contri-  
butes so much to the Order and Well-being of  
the whole World; and since it is likewise so to  
your own Being, and the Condition of that in  
Particular, why should you conceive such horrible  
Ideas, why hold it in such irreconcilable Detesta-  
tion? In this you act in Contradiction to Nature.

\* *Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*

I al-

Book. II.  I allow indeed, that the Fear of Pain is very natural, but I cannot admit the same Plea for the Fear of Death. For how is it possible that Nature should ever have infused into us a Principle of Hatred, against an Ordinance of her own Institution, and such as she receives such a mighty Benefit from the due Execution of? And, as an incontestable Evidence that she does not so, it appears plainly, that where Nature works entirely, without any Depravation or Restraint, there little or no Marks of this Passion are to be found. Little Children, for Instance, and Brutes, who are not capable of being corrupted with Prejudice, are so far from betraying any Fear of Death, that they meet it chearfully, and seem pleased to undergo it. The gay and smiling Countenances of these Creatures are enough to assure us, that Nature does not teach us to fear Death, but we learn that from some other Hand. But all the Directions we have from Nature upon this Occasion, is, to expect and wait for Death; and whenever it comes, to receive it with Submission and Chearfulness, as considering that it is of Nature's sending, and express Appointment.

<sup>14.</sup>  
*Necessary.*

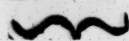
Secondly. It is necessary; a Sentence past for it, and irreversibile; and thou who distractest thy Soul with Fears, and bewailest this Fate of thine, art satisfied at the same Time, that there is no Possibility of avoiding it. And what more exquisite Folly can a Man be guilty of, than the tormenting himself industriously, when he knows it is to no Purpose? Where do you find any Man so stupidly silly, to spend his Time and his Breath in Intreaties and importunate Addresses, to one whom

he knows incapable of granting, or inflexible, and never to be prevailed upon for his Requests? or to knock eternally at a Door that will not, cannot be opened? And what more inexorable, more deaf to all our Supplications, than Death? If any Calamities be proper Objects of Fear, they are such as are barely Contingencies; which may indeed, but may not happen too. And those that are capable of Remedy or Prevention, are fit to have our Thoughts and Care employ'd upon them. But those that are fix'd, and must come (which is the Case of Death) we have nothing to do but to expect and to provide for; and all that is to be done with that which cannot be cured, is to fortify our Souls, and resolve to endure it. The ignorant and inconsiderate fear and flee from Death; the rash and fool-hardy courts and pursues it; the wise Man waits its Approach, and is ready to follow and obey the Summons; but neither runs away from it, nor advances to meet it. But certainly our Lamentations are very idle and extravagant, where they are sure to do no Good; and so are our Anxieties and Fears, where there are no means of Escape. \* *You must bear, and not complain, when the Thing is unavoidable.* The Behaviour of *David* was really very prudent; and an admirable Pattern he hath set us in it: When his Servants informed him that the Child, whose Sickness he had express'd a most passionate Concern for, was dead; the next Thing he did, was to wash and dress himself, and return to his ordinary way of eating, and usual Demonstrations of Cheer-

2 Sam. xii.

\* *Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest.*





fulness. This indeed was somewhat out of the common Road; and those about him, who knew no better, were much astonish'd at his Proceeding; but the Account he gave of himself was solid and substantial; that while the darling Infant was yet alive, and consequently it was yet uncertain, how God would please to dispose of him; he fasted and wept, because he did not know whether his Prayers might be heard, and God would be gracious in letting the Child live: But as soon as he understood it was dead, he changed his Course; because all hopes of that kind were then past: Life could not be recall'd, nor his Tears and melancholy Humiliations be of any farther Use in this Case. I know well enough, that foolish People have a Reply ready for all this. They will tell you, that when a Thing is beyond all Remedy, it is then the fittest Object of our Grief; and, that our Concern is at no time so seasonable, as when we cannot be better than we now are. But this is the very Extremity of Senselessness; this compleats, nay doubles the Folly. It is most truly said, † *That the greatest Madness a Man can possibly be guilty of, is to struggle and fret himself, when he sees and knows all he does is in vain.* Since then the Matter now before us is so absolutely necessary, so unalterably fix'd, so perfectly unavoidable, it is not only to no manner of Purpose to torment our selves with the fear of it; but if we would take right Measures, and make any Profit of this Consideration, our Method must be to make a Virtue of Necessity; and if this grim Guest will come,

† *Scienter frustra niti extremæ dementiæ est.*

to put on all our good Humour, and prevail with our selves to receive him decently, and bid him welcome. For the best Thing we can do, is to be beforehand with him. It would better become us to make some Advances, and meet Death, than to suffer it to overtake us; and to lay hold on that, than to be surprized and apprehended by it.

Thirdly, It is highly agreeable to Reason and Justice, that Men should die. For what more reasonable, than that every Thing should come to the Place of its final Rest, and be safely deposited, where no new Change, no fresh Removal awaits it? If Men are afraid of arriving at this long Home, they should not move towards it, but stand still, or go back again, or get out of the Road: But none of these are in their Power to do. What more reasonable again, than that you should go off this Stage of the World, and make room for new Actors, and a new Scene, as your Predecessors made room for you? If you have play'd your Part well, you go off with Applause, and that ought to content you: If you have enjoy'd your self and the World, you have had a good Entertainment, enough to satisfy and feast your Appetite; and therefore you ought to rise from Table in good Humour. If you had not the Wit to make the best of Life, and all its Advantages slip through your Fingers; what Loss do you sustain in parting with it? What would you do with it any longer? If you could be trusted on, still the Talent would lie unimproved. Observe to this Purpose the Reasoning of the Poet.

15.  
*Just and Reasonable.*

*If*

\* — If Nature should begin to speak,  
 And thus with loud Complaints our Folly check;  
 Fond Mortal, what's the Matter thou dost sigh?  
 Why all these Fears, because thou once must die,  
 And once submit to strong Mortality?  
 For if the Race thou hast already run  
 Was pleasant; if with Joy thou saw'st the Sun;  
 If all thy Pleasures did not pass thy Mind,  
 As through a Sieve, but left some Sweets behind;  
 Why dost thou not then like a thankful Guest,  
 Rise chearfully from Life's abundant Feast,  
 And with a quiet Mind go take thy Rest?  
 But if all those Delights are lost and gone,  
 Spilt idly all, and Life a Burthen grown;  
 Then why, fond Mortal, dost thou ask for more,  
 Why still desire t' increase thy wretched Store,  
 And wish for what must waste, like those before?  
 Nor rather free thy self from Pains and Fear,  
 And end thy Life, and necessary Care?

CREECH, LUCRET.

\* Denique si vocem Rerum Natura repente  
 Mittat, & hoc aliquoi nostrum sic increpet ipsa;  
 Quid tibi tantopere est, Mortalis, quod nimis ægris  
 Luctibus indulges? quid mortem congemis, ac fles?  
 Nam si grata fuit tibi Vita antea, priorque,  
 Et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas  
 Commoda perfluxere, atque ingrata interiere,  
 Cur non, ut plenus Vitæ conviva, recedis,  
 Æquo animoque capis securam, Stulte, quietem?  
 Sin ea, quæ fructus cunque es, perièrè profusa,  
 Vitæque in offensus est; cur amplius addere quæris,  
 Rursum quod pereat male, & ingratum accadat omne;  
 Nec potius Vitæ finem facis, atque laboris?

LUCRET. Lib. III.

But



But besides that, we are accountable for the use of Life while we have it, and our Profuseness does but inflame the Reckoning, the longer Time we have allow'd us to mispend it in; we must remember, that according to what was urged a little before; Life it self is a Debt; this is as the principal Sum put into our Hands to Traffick with, but such as we should always be ready to pay down upon the Nail, whenever it shall be called in again; and he who is the Owner and Giver, may demand it the very next Hour. How then can you argue against the Condition of your own Obligation? How can you falsify your Trust, and act against your Engagement and your Duty? It is most unreasonable to shuffle and flinch, and kick against these Pricks; because by Death you ease your self of a mighty Charge and Trouble; you make up your great Account, and pay in that vast Sum, for which you stood responsible, and which, while in your Custody, was liable to great Loss and Hazard. Dying is a general Thing; every body does it, and can you take it ill not to be exempted? Do you expect to be the single Instance, the sole Reserve from universal Nature; to enjoy a Privilege by your self; a Privilege never yet seen nor heard of in the World? What unparallel'd Folly and presumptuous Madness is this? Or why should you be afraid to go where all the World goes, where you will find innumerable Millions of Men, who have taken up their Residence before you come, and whither you will be follow'd by as great a Number afterwards? How singular an Affectation is this? Death is equally certain to all; and therefore it cannot be unreasonable



able, nor unjust, with respect to you; for Equality is the first constituent Part of Equity; and no Man will be forgotten or overlook'd in this Distribution.

*\* In the same Road all travel on,  
By all alike the same dark Journey must be gone.  
Our blended Lots together lie,  
Mingled in one common Urn;  
Sooner, or later, out they fly, &c.*

III. MISCELL.

16.  
*Contempt  
of Death  
good, if  
upon a  
good Ac-  
count.*

The third Resentment I mentioned upon this Occasion, is the Contempt of Death, and this is a Mark of a brave and generous Mind: This frequently proceeds from exalted Judgment, and Strength of Reason, and is more peculiarly the Virtue of a publick Character, elevated Fortune, and a Life full of difficult and weighty Affairs. For to Persons in such Circumstances, many Accidents may happen, for which no Man ought to scruple dying; and several Prospects present themselves, of Things so valuable, that they deserve to be preferred even before Life it self. Let other Matters succeed how they will, this at least is a constant Rule; that a Man ought always to be fonder, and have a greater Regard for himself, than for a Life led in Hurry and publick Business; which shews him, as it were, always in a full Theatre, and exposes him to the View and

*\* Omnes eodem cogimur, Omnium  
Versatur Urna: Serius, ocyus  
Sors exitura, &c.*

HORAT. *Od.* 3. Lib. XI.

Cen-

Censure of all the World. He must consider himself not only as a Spectacle, but as a Pattern to Mankind; and remember, that one of the Incumbrances of Honour and Dignity, is a necessary Obligation to shine brighter than common Men; to render his Virtue more conspicuous to those below him; and to do Things exemplary good and great, though it happen to be at the Expence of all that the World calls dear. To such Persons many times the same Methods of Safety are denied, which private Men might make use of, without any Reflection upon their Prudence, or their Duty. They must by no means suffer any Diminution of their Honour; but when driven to a Pinch, must risque and sacrifice their Lives, and trust the Event to Fate. The great Man, who cannot command himself so far as to despise Death, is not only made thereby incapable of doing any Gallant and eminently good Action, but he lays himself open to more than ordinary Dangers, by this timorous Spirit and Behaviour; and those too, such Dangers as threaten most, what requires his best Care to preserve. For while his great Concern is to preserve his Person, and see that Life be under Covert; his Duty, his Honour, Virtue and Probity lie naked and exposed; and run a mighty Hazard for want of Courage to protect and stand by them. The Contempt of Death is in Effect the very Principle, to which the boldest and most renowned Exploits are owing; the most daring Attempts, whether in good or ill Designs. He that hath conquered the Fear of Death, hath nothing more left to terrify him: He hath it in his Power to do what he pleases, and may at any



Book II. time make himself Master of another Man's Life, because he is already Master of his own. And as this Contempt is the true Source of Generosity and undaunted firmness in Action; so is it likewise the very Spirit and Life, that quickens and supports that Resolution from whence they proceed. Hence Calmness, and Constancy, and Perseverance, all the free bold Determinations, by which Virtue hath expressed her self; the noble and admired Sentences uttered by celebrated Persons, when reduced to Extremity of Danger and Distress: Such as shine in Story, give lasting Characters to their Authors, and transport the Reader with Wonder and Delight; a very few of which, because they now occur to my Mind, I take the Liberty to insert here.

*Helvidius Priscus* having received a Message from the Emperor *Vespasian* not to appear in the Senate, or, if he came, strictly prohibiting him to interpose his Opinion in a Debate which was to be moved there; sent back word, That his Character of a Senator required his Attendance, and he should not refuse his Summons; neither should he, when there, baulk any thing that became him, but, if called upon to give his Judgment, would discharge his Conscience, and deliver his Sense of the Case freely, and without Fear or Reserve. The Emperor provoked with what he thought Insolence in this Reply, sent a second Message, threatening to put him to death if he open'd his Mouth; to which he return'd thus; *Sir, said he, Did I ever tell the Emperor that I was immortal? His Majesty, I suppose, will do his Pleasure, and I will take care to do my Duty; it is in his Power to put me to death unjustly,*

justly, but it is in my own to die virtuously and gallantly. The Lacedæmonians, when Philip of Macedon, Father of Alexander the Great, had entred their Country with his Army, received a terrible Message from him, threatening what Severity he would use them with, if they did not court his Friendship, and send to make Terms with him. To which one brisk Fellow answered in behalf of the whole Republick, *What Harm can those Men suffer who are not afraid of Death?* And upon another Dispatch from Philip, telling them, That he would break all their Measures, and prevent the Designs they had formed in their own Defence; The Answer was, *How, Sir, What, break all our Measures? No sure, you will not pretend to hinder us from dying? This is a Project which you cannot defeat.* Another, when his Opinion was ask'd, What Course a Man could take to live free and easy, resolv'd the Doubt thus, That all other Methods were ineffectual, except that one of *despising Death.* We read of a young Boy, who was taken Captive and sold for a Slave, and in Discourse with his Patron who had bought him, Sir, says he, *You shall now see what a Purchase you have; I should certainly be much to blame, and guilty of great Folly, should I submit to live in Slavery, when my Liberty is in my own Disposal, and I can retrieve it when I please:* And with that he threw himself down from the House-top, and was dash'd to pieces. While a Person was deliberating with himself in deep Perplexity of Thought, whether he should quit this Life, or not accept that Deliverance, but be content to tug on still under the Weight of a very heavy Calamity, which then

Book II.

oppress'd him; a wise Man told him, That in his Judgment the Matter under Debate was very small and inconsiderable. "For what is it, says he, to live? Thy Slaves, nay, thy Beasts and Cattel live; but to die like a Man of Honour, and Integrity, and Wisdom, to leave the World with remarkable Constancy and Courage; this indeed, is a thing of moment, and worth studying for." To conclude this Argument, and to crown it with the most compleat and substantial Consideration that can possibly belong to it; our most holy Religion owes more of its Success in the World, and more of its Effect upon Men's Hearts and Lives, to this single Principle of getting above the Fear of Death, than to any other human Foundation whatsoever: No Man can be an excellently good Christian, who is not resolute and brave; and upon this account we find, that our great Master, who best understood the Temper of his own Gospel, does insist upon taking up the Cross, hating and despising Life for his sake, not fearing Men who can only destroy the Body, and the like; which are but other Expressions for the Contempt of Death: These he insists upon, I say, as frequently, as earnestly, as upon any other Duty, or Article of Religion whatsoever.

Now we must understand, that there are many Counterfeits and false Pretences to Bravery upon this Occasion; a great many People, who look big upon the matter, and would fain persuade the World, nay perhaps are persuaded themselves, that they despise Death, and yet are in truth afraid of it. Thus several People will tell you they do not value Life, they would be content, nay glad to leave



leave the World; but the Ceremony and Process of dying is what they cannot away with. Others again, while in perfect Soundness of Health and Judgment, can think of Death without any Impressions of Horror; nay have, as they imagine, settled their Minds so as to bear the Shock of it firm and unmoved; and some have gone farther yet, and resolved to make it their Choice, their own Act and Deed. This is a Farce very often played; insomuch that the soft, the luxurious *Heligabalus* himself had a Part in it, and made sumptuous Preparations, that his Death might be as pompous and expensive as his Life had been. But when these mighty Men of Valour have come to the Push, their Hearts have failed; and either Courage was wanting to give the Blow, or they have repented of such Hardiness for rash Heat and Folly; (as *Lucius Domitius* particularly, who after he had poisoned himself, was sorry for what he had done) and would fain have lived, when it was too late. Others turn away their Heads, draw their Cap over their Eyes, and dare not look Death in the Face; they think of it as little as they can, steal upon it, and plunge in all on the sudden; they swallow it down like unpalatable Physick, and hasten to get to the End of that bitter Potion which goes against their Stomach. To this purpose is that Saying of *Cæsar*, *That the shortest Death is the best*; and that of *Pliny*, *That a sudden and speedy Dispatch is the greatest good Fortune, that can happen to Man in this State of Mortality*. Now no Man can truly be said to have Resolution and Courage, such as is above the Fear of Death, who is afraid of facing and coming up to it, who dares

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not meet and undergo it with his Eyes open, and his Thoughts and Senses about him. Thus we know several have done, and therefore this is no romantick Excellence, above the Power or Capacity of human Nature. Thus did *Socrates* particularly, who had thirty Days time to chew the Cud, and digest the Sentence pronounced against him; and yet, after all this Foresight and Consideration, died without the least Disorder or Passion, without any Change in Countenance or Temper, without any Struggle or Sign of Reluctancy; in the most calm, composed, chearful Manner, that you at any other time can suppose a Man in. Thus did *Pomponius Atticus* and *Tullius Marcellinus*, those two gallant *Romans*; and *Cleantes* the Philosopher, who died all three almost alike. For, resolving to fast themselves to death, that so they might get rid of a very painful Distemper, that had made Life a Burthen; and finding their Abstinence to prove the best Physick, and instead of killing them, to cure their Disease; they could not desist, even upon this Recovery, but finish'd their Design; and took great Satisfaction in observing the gradual decays of Nature; and by what Steps and Methods Death gained Ground upon them. Among these fearless Men we may reckon *Otho* and *Cato* too; who, after resolving to kill themselves, and all necessary Preparations made in order to it, just as they were going to put their Design in Execution, took a sound Sleep. Thus preserving their Spirits from any Disorder or Confusion, which the Prospect of approaching Death was no more able to cast them into, than any trifling little Accident in human Life,

Life, would discompose a Man of Temper and Judgment. Chap. 11.

The fourth Quality is the Affection of a great and generous, a firm and resolute Mind; which hath been often, and with general Approbation, practised by Persons of unquestionable Magnanimity, and eminent Piety. But then they have restrained this commendable desire of Death to two particular Cases.

<sup>17.</sup>  
*Desire of  
Death.*

The first of these, which seems most agreeable to Nature, and upon that Account may justify such a Desire, is a Life of extreme Calamity and Distress, of perpetual Uneasiness, and exquisite Pain; or an Apprehension of some Death more scandalous, more torturing, more insupportable, than that which at present they should undergo: In a word, a Condition so deplorable, that there is no Place left for Hope, no possibility of Remedy or Redress. Then Death is desired as a sure Retreat, and quiet Harbour from the Waves and Storms of a troublesome Life; the best and most effectual Relief for weary and wasted Nature; the only Refuge and Support of Slaves harassed and ill treated; and as the Case then stands, the supreme Happiness a Man is capable of. It is, I own, an Argument of Weakness and Littleness of Soul, to sink under Misfortunes; but it is as sure an Instance of Folly, to cherish and be fond of them. And, in my poor Judgment, it is high time to die, when (all Circumstances fairly computed) there is a great deal more Evil than Good in Living. For as throwing away one's Life rashly and inconsiderately is against Nature, so likewise is the taking Pains to preserve it to our own Loss, and chusing



Book II.

to live in Misery and Torment. When therefore Providence hath reduced us to such a lamentable Condition as this, God will not sure be angry that we wish a Release. Some Persons have run the Point so high, as to tell you, that Men ought to die to avoid the Pleasures and Temptations which are highly agreeable to Nature; And if so, how much stronger and more cogent are the Reasons for avoiding Pain and Grief this way, which are of all Things in the World, the most contrary to Nature? There are, in all Appearance, several Incidents in Life worse, and much more formidable than Death: Such as a Man had better die than continue under; many Circumstances, in which, if it were left to any wise Man's Choice, he would infinitely rather quit the World, than stay longer in it: So far is Life it self from being a sufficient Compensation for all the Evils possible to be endured in it. Hence it was, that when *Antipater* threatned a great many terrible Things, and severe Revenge upon the *Lacedemonians* Refusal, if they did not submit presently, and comply with the Terms he sent them: They replied, " That  
 " he did not yet drive them to absolute Necessity;  
 " for if the Sufferings he threatned were worse  
 " than Death, they would chuse that as the more  
 " desirable of the two. And it is a Saying usual  
 " with the Philosophers, that a wise and a good  
 " Man lives as long as it is fit he should, and not  
 " as long as possibly he can: Which is the Care  
 of those who only sacrifice their Virtue, their Reputation, their every Thing that is most valuable and dear, to lengthen out their Term, and gain, though it be but a little Respit from Death.

Again,

Again, Death is much more at Command, and in our Disposal than Life is, or can be; there is but one Passage into the World, and our Entrance into it must be assisted by the Will of others; our Ways out again are infinite, and our Departure hence needs no Consent but our own: And the more chearful and contented we are at our leaving it, the more becoming and reputable is our Exit. We may want Lands and Revenues sufficient to maintain us while living, but no Man can want enough to receive him when dead; this is a Freehold, which neither Poverty nor Prodigality can alienate. No Man is so despicable, but he may have the Life of any other Man at his Mercy; no Place so secure, none so strong, as to be inaccessible to Death; for as the *Tragedian* observes most truly;

\* *Tbro' all the spacious Traëts of Air, Seas, Land, Death, Omnipresent Death is still at Hand.*

*The numerous Ills that wretched Mortals wait,  
Kind Heaven with Pity saw, and did create  
This always near, this ever sure Retreat.*

*Courage and Strength, Wisdom and Virtue, all  
To Vice and Cowardice a Prey may fall:*

*The base and weak may take our Life away,*

*The strongest can't detain or force its Stay.*

*The Privilege of Escape none can refuse,*

*Death bath Ten thousand plain and easy Avenues.*

\* *Ubique Mors est; optimè hoc cavit Deus;*

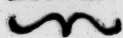
*Eripere Vitam nemo non homini potest,*

*At Nemo Mortem. Mille ad hanc Aditus patent.*

SENEC. THEBAIS *Æt.* 1.

The

Book II.



The most valuable Present that Nature hath made us, and that which really renders all the Complaints we utter in our melancholy Moods without Excuse, is the trusting us with the Outlets of Life, and leaving the Keys in our own Hands. “ Why then (vain Man) dost thou find fault “ with the World? It detains thee not. If thou “ livest in Uneasiness, thank thy self, thy own “ Cowardice is to blame for it: For he that hath “ but the Resolution to die, needs no more to set “ him free, and perfect his Deliverance.

The second Case, wherein the desire of Death is most practicable and most commendable, is purely Religious; when Men have entertained such strong and lively Apprehensions, and those Apprehensions have kindled such eager Wishes of a Future State, that Death is long’d for with great Impatience; because this is look’d upon as a Gain and mighty Advantage; the Seed from whence a rich Crop shall spring up to a better Life; the Passage to the Seats of Bliss, and Inlet to full and perfect Happiness; the Store-house where we and all our earthly Treasures are safely deposited, to be produced with vast Improvement at the Resurrection. These are Things of that Moment and infinite Value to us, that a firm Belief and stedfast Hope of them is very hardly consistent with the Fear and Loathsomeness to die: For sure, if this Principle were pursued through all its Consequences, the Effect must needs be to make us dissatisfied with Life, and weary of being confined here so long, and at so great a distance from our Happiness: Life upon these Terms should be barely supportable, but Death our Choice, and the



the Object of our Love and Desire: To such Men living must needs be a Toil, and a Burden; and Death an Ease and Refreshment after much Suffering, and hard Labour. St. Paul's Declarations and Wishes would then be in the Hearts and Mouths of all good Men. *I desire to be dissolved* Gal. i. *and to be with Christ, which is far better. To me to die is Gain.* And, *Oh wretched Man, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Of such Efficacy, I say, in all Reason must these Expectations be, when duly cherished and enforced: And I cannot but acknowledge those Reproaches upon some Philosophers and Christians, both ancient and modern, to have a great deal of Justice in them; whom Men called Hypocrites and publick Impostors. For what better Notions can be entertain'd of Persons profuse in the Proofs of an immortal State, and in the glorious Commendations of a Bliss inexpressible in the Life to come; and yet at the same time pale and shivering for fear, declining Death by all possible Means, and trembling at the very mention of its Approach; though this very Thing, to which they are so exceeding averse, is confess'd to be the Passage into their so much admired Eternity; the only Method of putting them into actual Possession of those Joys, the very Hope and Reversion whereof they pretend to value above this whole World?

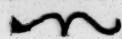
Chap. 11.

Rom. vii.

The fifth and last Particular mention'd upon this Occasion, is only a putting in Execution that which was mention'd before; for what is dying by one's own Hand, but the Gratification and Accomplishment of a Man's Desire of Death? This indeed hath at first blush a good fair Appearance;

18.  
Killing  
one's self.

Book II.



ance; and seems to proceed from Virtue and Greatness of Spirit: And certain it is, that the Allowance and the Practice of it hath been both frequent and ancient. Many Instances of this Kind live in Story, Persons eminently great and good, of almost every Country, and every Religion: *Greeks and Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Medes, Gauls, Indians*; Philosophers of all Sects, nay *Jews* too; as is evident from the Fact of old *Razias*, who hath the honourable Character of *The*

2 Mac. xiv. *Father of his Country* given him, and is constantly mention'd with Commendation of his Virtue.

2 Mac. vi. Another Instance the same History gives us likewise in those Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, who after they had circumcised their Children, cast themselves down headlong from the Wall with them. Nay, not only *Jews*, but Christians too; witness those two holy Women, *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, Canoniz'd for their Piety and Courage; the former of which, with her Mother and Sisters, cast her self into a River, that by Drowning they might escape the Rudeness and Violence of the Soldiers; and the latter stabbed her self, to prevent the outrageous Lust of the Emperor *Maxentius*. And, as if single Persons were not sufficient to justify this Practice, we have whole Cities and Nations giving Authority to it by their Example. Thus did the Citizens of *Capua*, to avoid being taken by the *Romans*; thus did *Astapha* and *Numantia* in *Spain* upon the same Account. Thus the *Abidæans*, when hard pressed by *Philip*; and a City of the *Indians*, when *Alexander* had encamped against it. This hath likewise had the yet more authentick Approbations of

Laws

Laws and publick Sanctions ; and several Commonwealths have not only permitted, but recommended, and in some Cases brought it into a Custom ; as *Marseilles* heretofore, the Isle of *Cea* in the *Negropont*, and some *Northern* Nations in particular ; where the publick Justice regulated the Times and the Methods of doing this. Nor is it only upon Precedents, that the Favourers of this Opinion do rely, but they think it abundantly supported by Reason ; and particularly that several Arguments of Weight may be deduced from the former Article to justify it. For, say they, if a Desire and Willingness to die, be not allowable only, but commendable too ; if we may wish and pray for a Release ; if we may put our selves in the way of it, and be glad when it is offer'd, why may we not give this Relief to our selves ? Is the Desire it self a Virtue, and the Execution of that Desire a Sin ? What is permitted in the Will, why do you call forbidden in the Act ? That which I may be pleased with from another Hand, why should I be condemned for from my own ? Indeed, why should I wait the tedious Approach of that from other Means, which I can at any time give to my self ? For is it not better to act in this Case, than to be purely Passive ? Is it not more manly and generous to meet Death, than lazily to sit still and attend its Motions ? The more voluntary our Death is, the more like a Man of Honour. Again ; what Law does this offend against ? There are Penalties indeed ordained for Robbers and Pick-pockets, but is any Man liable to them for taking his own Goods ? By the same Reason the Laws against Murder do not concern me. They

I

pro-



Book II. provide \* for every Man's Security against the In-  
 sults of others; they tie my Neighbours Hands  
 from

\* Although the Answers to the Pretences usually alledged in favour of Self-murder be in a great measure taken off in the latter Part of the Section, and the Determination at last be sound and good; yet in regard those Returns are general, and do not reach every Particular, I will so far trespass upon the Reader's Patience, as to run over this Part of the Argument, Period by Period, as fresh Matter arises; and observe to him, what hath been, or may very reasonably be replied upon each of the Excuses produced here, (for I rather call them Excuses than Justifications) to give countenance to that unnatural Act of Self-murder.

First, It is urged that there are great Examples for it in all Story, and of Persons of all Persuasions; particularly those of *Razias*, and the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus* among the *Jews*, and *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* among the Christians; the former drowning herself to escape the Rudeness of the Soldiers, the latter stabbing herself to get free from the Lust of *Maxentius*.

Now here in the first place I observe by the way, That Example in general is a very insufficient and deceitful Rule; nor can we always make any sure Conclusions of the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of a Fact, by the Relation given of it. Because many times the Thing is commended with regard to one Part or Circumstance, and yet not thereby justified as to all the rest; this I say, when there is a Commendation positively added to it; but many, if not most, are barely related, and left for us to interpret, without any Character at all fixed upon them. Nay, I add farther, that the Circumstances of Person, Time, and several others of the like Nature, are so infinitely different, that, as it is exceeding hard for us, who not are perfectly acquainted with the Reasons and Motives upon which others act, to pass an exact and true Judgment upon their Actions; so is it much more difficult to find Instances, where their Circumstances and ours shall agree so nicely and in every Particular, that we shall deserve just the same Commendation or Blame which they did, by imitating their Proceedings. Thus much was not amiss to be hinted, concerning the Fallacy of Examples in general, and how very unfit they are to be made  
 a Rule

a Rule for the Behaviour of other People. I shall now touch briefly upon each of the Particulars above-mentioned.

Chap. 11.

As for that of *Razias*, it is indeed delivered after such a manner, as seems to carry a Commendation with it; but this is only a Commendation of his Valour and heroick Greatness of Soul, not of the Virtue of the Action, or any thing which might render it imitable by others. St. *Augustine's* Reflection upon it is, *Dictum est quod eligerit nobiliter mori; melius vellet humiliter, sic enim utiliter. Illis autem verbis historia Gentium laudare consuevit, sed viros forte hujus seculi, non Martyres Christi.* His Character (says he) is, That he chose to die nobly; it had been much better if the Commendation had been, that he chose to die modestly and humbly; for this had been a profitable way of dying. But those are pompous Terms, usual in profane Story, such as are counted an Honour to the Men of this World, but not to Martyrs for Christ. The Account in the *Maccabees* expresses his resolute Detestation of Idolatry, and that is commendable; but certainly had he been taken, and suffered Torments and Death under *Nicanor*, his Praise had been much more just, and his Character clear and indisputable. For even Persecution itself is not a Reason sufficient for our making this Escape; according to that of St. *Jerome* in his Comment upon *Jonah*: *Non est nostrum mortem arripere, sed illatam ab aliis libenter excipere. Unde & in persecutionibus non licet propria perire manu.* It is not our Business to bring Death upon our selves, but to receive it willingly when inflicted by others; and for this Reason even the Case of Persecution will not warrant a Man's dying by his own Hand. But in truth, *Razias's* Case, as the Historian describes it, was none of this; for his Account at the 42<sup>d</sup> Verse is very remarkable. He fell upon his Sword, chusing rather to die manfully, than to come into the Hands of the Wicked, to be abused otherwise then beseemed his noble Birth. So that *Razias* at this rate was what the World vainly calls a Man of Honour, and his Life was sacrificed to that Principle: Had he done this Act to avoid offending God, it had had a fairer Pretence at least, though neither would this have excused it; but to kill himself for fear of Indignities, and Affronts not fit for a Man of his Quality to submit to, this was far from a religious Principle; and we cannot wonder that the Commendation it receives hath given so strong a Prejudice to the Church against the Book of *Maccabees*, as not to admit it into their Canon of Scripture. I add too upon this Occasion, that some have

Cap. xxiii.  
contra 2. Epist. Gaud.

2 Mac. xvi.  
37, &c.

Book II.

Spanhem.  
de Author.  
Lib. Apo-  
chryph. in  
Disp. Theod.  
Ver. 41.  
43, 44.

45.  
46.

have thought this whole Matter a Fiction; and I confess, the Circumstances are very odd and romantick; That a Man should fall upon his Sword first; then leap down from a Wall into the midst of his Enemies; that they should make way for him, where he fell among the thickest of them; that he should rise up again in anger, but withal in such a Condition, that his Blood gushed out like Spouts of Water, and his Wounds were very grievous; but he ran through the midst of the Throng notwithstanding, and standing upon a steep Rock, when his Blood was now quite gone, he pluck'd out his Bowels, took them in both his Hands, cast them upon the Crowd; and yet for all this, his Senses it seems were not lost at the last Gasps, but after all those wonderful Exploits, this was not the least wonderful, that he should have the Use of his Understanding so perfect, as to call upon God to restore him those Bowels again, and so die. This I thought not amiss to hint; and let them look both to the Truth of the Story, and the Justice of the Commendation, who have entitl'd these Books to an equal Authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

That Instance of the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, I do not understand; for if it refer to those mentioned, 2 Macc. vi. 10. they seem to have been thrown headlong from the Wall, by the Hands of Executioners. But if they had done it themselves, their Case had been somewhat more pitiable, but not more imitable, than that of *Razias*.

Epist. ad  
Mar.

Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. Lib.  
VIII. Cap.  
xiv.

Those of *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* are indeed extolled, but yet St. *Jerome*, who in one Place makes the preserving of Chastity an Exception, and the only reserved Case from what I quoted out of him just now against dying by one's own Hand in Persecutions; says in another Place without Exception, That God receives no Souls who come without his Order. *Deus non recipit animas quæ se nolente exierunt è corpore*. And whether this Case of theirs was a Call, notwithstanding the Advocates and Applauses they have found, is greatly to be questioned. For what is the Chastity God requires? Is it not that of the Mind? Could not God have restrained even those lascivious Intentions? Does not *Eusebius* in the very same Chapter, wherein he relates this Act of *Sophronia* delivering herself from *Maxentius*, particularly tell of a Christian Lady at *Alexandria*, who not being any way to be conquered by *Maximin*, he would not so much as kill her for her Obstinacy, nor indeed force her Person;



but in the Conflict of Rage and Lust, at last only confiscated Chap. 11.  
her Goods, and sent her into Banishment? But supposing God  
had permitted the foul Act, yet so long as the Mind was unblemished, here had been no Guilt, but rather a double Martyrdom. If you say, they might possibly suspect, that they should in the Commission of the Fact, have been polluted with sinful Inclinations. 'Tis easy to answer, That this is but a Fear, but a bare Possibility; and if an Act be, otherwise, and in the general, unlawful, the bare avoiding a possible Sin, cannot make it lawful to break a Command; and, by going against God and Nature, commit and chuse a certain Sin. He has promised, *That he will not suffer his servants to be tempted above that they are able*, and declared that *our weakness can never be so great, but that his Grace is sufficient for us*; with many other gracious Promises, which it is a great Fault in us to distrust, even in our greatest Streights and Necessities. And to deliver our selves by Methods contrary to his Laws, is to distrust them; for we are to expect the Assistance of his Grace, and the Protection of his Providence in the Use of those Means, and Observance of those Rules he hath given us. And therefore I cannot conceive how the Fear of falling into Sin only, can possibly render that Action lawful, which otherwise, and generally speaking, is itself a Sin and unlawful. Methinks therefore we should do well in this Case to distinguish with our Saviour in the Parable of the unjust Steward; and as he commended the Wisdom of that Man, without approving his Injustice, so we may allow all possible Praise to the Gallantry and Constancy of these female Martyrs, without allowing, that the Course they took to preserve their Virtue, was strictly regular and good. And thus St. Chrysostom seems to have done, who, notwithstanding the great Encomium given of *Pelagia* in one Place, yet speaks of this Act of dying by one's own Hand, in very severe Terms in another; and declares without Exception, that the Christians had all such Persons in Abhorrence; and that they were more guilty before God than any other Murderers. And some of those Instances, which were thought hard to condemn, the Vindicators have not well known how to acquit, otherwise than by a Presumption of a particular Impulse of God, which was for that Time and Action a Dispensation to the general Law. So St. *Augustin* of *Sampson*, *Spiritus latenter hoc iusserrat, qui per illum miracula faciebat*. The same Spirit which wrought Miracles by him, gave him a secret Command to do this

1 Cor. x. 13.  
2 Cor. xii.

Tom. 1.  
Front. Duca.  
628. compared with  
Comment on  
Gal. i. 4.

Book II. *Thing.* And *Lippius* speaking of these very Women, says, *Monitum aut Jussio Dei hic quoque præsumenda*; That a Command, or at least some Instinct or Direction from God, is to be presumed in their Case, as well as *Sampson's*; and he had St. *Augustin's* own Authority, he says, for this Presumption. All which, when duly considered, as it will not warrant us to censure these Persons as to their eternal State, so neither will it warrant our imitating such Actions, or arguing from thence in defence of such Behaviour, or for the extenuating the Sin of Self-murder. For whatever they might be in themselves, 'tis sure they are no Pattern to us; and if God see fit to allow, or the Church to commend their Zeal, it will still become us to observe, and beware of the Irregularities of it.

The Examples which follow of Cities destroying themselves, rather than they would lie at the Mercy of the Conquerors, whatever Appearance they may have of Fortitude and Gallantry, yet as to the Point of Conscience and Lawfulness, they are certainly blameable, and fall under the same Censure which is afterwards given of *Cato* and others. Page 949. N. 3, 4.

*Valer. Max.*  
Lib. II.  
Cap. vi. F.  
7, 8.

The Custom of *Marseilles* and the Isle of *Ceo*, where Persons willing to die made no scruple of doing it, having first obtained the Judgment and Approbation of the Senate, and by Poison kept on purpose, and prepared at the Publick Charge, is only a Permission and Allowance, and does by no means take off the Guilt and Injustice of making our selves away; except only in that single Point, that here the Publick is not injured, having expressly consented to the Loss of that Member. But in all other Respects the Fact was wicked and abominable, and is reported to have had no other Foundation than Affliction, or extreme Old-Age, or in general, a Weariness of Life.

Nor will the next Argument hold, concerning the Desire of Death; for supposing that whatsoever a Man is allowed to desire, he is likewise allow'd to procure to himself, (which yet is not universally true) yet this Desire itself is faulty, when it grows into Impatience, and is not content to wait God's Methods and God's Leisure. And there is great Difference between meeting Death gladly, and running into it; between receiving our Release with Satisfaction, and breaking Prison. So far therefore as this Desire is consistent with Patience, and Resignation to the divine Will, so far it is truly magnanimous and commendable, and no farther.

To

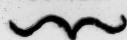
To that Question, What Law does this offend against? it is Chap. 11.  
easy to answer, Against the Laws of God and of Nature, against the Condition of Mankind, against our Duty to the Publick; against the sixth Commandment in particular, which no more argues us guiltless when we kill our selves, because chiefly designed to restrain us from killing others; than it can be proved from the seventh, that we do not sin against our own Bodies, when we invade another's Bed. The Love of our selves is proposed as a Standard of our Love to others; and the Rule must be supposed as perfect at least, as the thing to be regulated by it. If there be no Prohibition against this in express Words, it was because none was thought needful; and sure it is no Excuse to say, That no Law is violated in Terms, when the Case was such as needed no Law. As to the other Part of the Argument, That Men may dispose of themselves as they please, and a willing Person can receive no Injury; it supposes an absolute Right to dispose of our selves, such as no Creature hath with respect to God and Providence, and no Man can have, with regard to the several Relations and Dependancies in which he is engaged.

And if so little can be said for this horrid Fact, when the most favourable Cases are put; how detestable and impious must it needs be, when Disgrace, or Poverty, Disappointments and Crosses, raging Passions, and Repining at Providence, prevail with Men to commit it? For these are such Motives as no body ever undertook to justify; and the *Stoicks* themselves, who went the farthest in this Matter, yet stopp'd short of these, and, to speak the Truth, even wavered in all the rest. A more full Account whereof I refer my Reader for to *Lipsii Manuduc. ad Stoic. Philosoph.* Lib. III. Cap. xxiii, xxiv. and for a larger Discussion of this whole Matter, to *Spanheim. Disput. Theolog. De Lib. Apocryph. Authoritate. Disp.* xiii, xiv. and Bishop Taylor, *Ductor Dubitant.* Book III. Chap. ii. Rule 3. From all which compared, St. *Augustin's* Determination, I doubt not, will seem most reasonable; *His exceptis, quos vel Lex ju-*  
*sta, vel ipse Fons Justitiæ Deus jubet occidi; quisquis hominem,*  
*vel seipsum, vel quemlibet occiderit, homicidij crimine innecti-*  
*tur.* Those only excepted, whom either a just Law, or God him-  
self, who is the Fountain of all Justice, shall command to put  
to Death; whosoever shall kill any Person, be it himself, or any  
other Man, he becomes thereby guilty of Murder, and is answer-  
able for his Blood.

1. De Civ.  
Cap. xvi.



Book II.



from taking my Life, and mine up from taking his; because this is supposed to be an Act of Violence, and want of Consent in the Sufferer makes it an Injury; but what is all this to the purpose? or how does it render a Man guilty, who voluntarily and deliberately takes away his own Life? These are the principal, I think indeed, the Whole of those Arguments commonly alledged in defence of this Practice; but then there are others a great deal more substantial and more obligatory, that use to be produced for the contrary Side of the Question.

See Jos. de  
Bell. Jud.  
Lib. III.  
Cap. xiv.

First then. As to Authorities, This Practice, however countenanced by some, but very few States in comparison, hath yet been absolutely disallowed and condemned by the Generality of Mankind; and not only by *Christians*, but *Jews* too, as *Josephus* shews at large, in the Oration he made to his Officers in the Cave, at the taking of *Jotapata*. By the Generality of Philosophers and great Men, as *Plato*, and *Scipio*, and others; who all impute this Manner of proceeding to a Defect, rather than any Sufficiency of Courage; and reproach it, not only as an Act of Cowardice, misbecoming a brave Man, but of Heat and Impatience, unworthy of a good Man. For what can we say better of it, than that this is skulking and running out of the way, to hide one's self from the Insults of Fortune? Now a Virtue that is vigorous and stanch, will be sure to stand its ground: Distress and Pain are so far from making it flinch, that they feed, and cherish, and exalt it; it lives, it grows, it triumphs by them. There is certainly greater Firmness of Mind expressed in bearing  
and

and making an Advantage of one's Chain, than in Chap. 11.  
breaking it to pieces, because it keeps us confin'd,  
and ties us fast to some Uneasinesses: And all con-  
siderate Men must allow, that *Regulus* shew'd in-  
finitely more Gallantry than *Cato*.

\* *The Base, when wretched, dare to die; but he  
Is brave indeed, who dares to live in Misery.*

† *If the crack'd Orbs should split and fall,  
Crush him they might, but not appall.*

Sir. R. FANSHAW.

Nay these Men ought to be counted infamous,  
and treated as Deserters. For no Man can answer  
quitting the Post he is ordered to, without the ex-  
press Leave and fresh Orders of the superior Offi-  
cer who placed him there. We are by no means  
put into the World upon our own Account alone;  
and therefore personal Calamities must not put us  
upon an Act of so great Injustice, as the squander-  
ing away that, in which others have a Right as  
well as we; nor yet are we Masters of our selves,  
but under the Disposal and Direction of a Lord  
who hath a Right Paramount.

Thus you see what Arguments are generally  
brought on either Side; but if we set the Consi-  
derations of Duty and Religion aside, and take the  
Liberty to speak the Sense of mere Nature in the  
Case, the Resolution she would come to seems to  
be this; that Men ought not to enter upon this

\* *Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam:  
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

MARTIAL. *Lib. XI. Ep. lvii.*

† *Si fractus illabatur orbis,*

*Impavidum ferient ruinæ.*

HOR. *L. III. Od. iii.*





were removed, they lay under no farther Temptation to be out of love with Life; and a bare Possibility of the Disease returning, was a Consideration much too remote. The Wives of *Pætus*, and *Scaurus*, and *Labeo*, and *Fulvius* the intimate Friend of *Augustus*, of *Seneca*, and a great many more, were as fantastically fool-hardy, when they killed themselves, either to bear their Husbands company out of the World, or to invite them to go with them. So likewise *Cato* and others, who were discontented with the Event of their Undertakings, and the Chance of War; and chose rather to die by their own Hands, than to fall into their Enemies; notwithstanding these Enemies were such, as gave them no just Ground to fear any barbarous or dishonourable Treatment from them neither. The same Censure will fall upon them, who murdered themselves, rather than they would be beholden to one they hated for their Lives, or lie at the Mercy of an ill Man; as *Gravius Silvanus*, and *Statius Proximus* did, after *Nero* had given them his Pardon. Nor are they less to blame, who run into the Shades of Death, to hide themselves from Shame, and cover the Reproach of some past Dishonour or Misfortune; such as *Lucretia*, after the Injury she had suffered from *Tarquin*; and *Spartopises*, Son to *Tomyris* the *Scythian* Queen, and *Boges*, Commander under *Xerxes*; the former because he could not bear being Prisoner of War to *Cyrus*, the other for the Loss of a Town taken by *Cimon* the *Athenian* General. Nor they who could not endure to survive a publick Calamity, though nothing extraordinary had befallen them in particular; such as *Nerva* the great Lawyer, *Vibius*

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Book II.

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*Virius* at the taking of *Capua*, and *Jubellius* at the Death of the greatest Part of their Senators, inflicted by a *Roman* Officer. And least of all can those nice and delicate People excuse themselves, who chuse to die, because they are cloyed with Life, and weary of repeating the same Things over again. Nay, I must go farther yet. For it is by no means sufficient, that the Occasion be very important and full of Difficulty, unless it be desperate and past all Remedy too; for nothing less than Necessity ought to be pleaded here; and this should be the last Reserve, the only Escape from Extremity of Misfortune. Upon this Account, Rashness and Despondency, and Anticipating one's Fate, and giving all for lost, is always exceeding blameable; an Instance whereof we have in *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who, before there was any Occasion for it, put an end to their own Lives, and with them to all the languishing Remains of the Liberty of *Rome*, which was committed to, and depended entirely upon their Protection. For, as *Cleomenes* truly said, Men are under an Obligation to use Life frugally, and to make it go as far as possibly they can; nay, not only to contrive that it may last as long as is possible, but that it may be useful to the very last. For a Man may discharge himself of this at any time; and when Things are at the very worst that they can be, this Remedy is what no Man can be at a loss for. But we should wait for better Days, and try whether the Hand of our Fortune will not mend upon us. \* *Many a Man*, as *Seneca* observes, *batb outlived his Executioner*. *Josephus*, and a great many besides, have

\* Aliquis Carnifici suo superstitis fuit.

follow'd

follow'd this Advice to excellent good Purpose; Chap. II.  
and Matters, when in all human Probability de-  
sperate and lost, have wheeled about, and taken  
a quite different Course, to the mighty Surprize,  
as well as Advantage, of all that were concerned  
in them.

† *Good unexpected, Evils unforeseen,  
Appear by turns, as Fortune shifts the Scene:  
Some rais'd aloft, come tumbling down amain,  
Then fall so hard, they bound and rise again.*

Mr. DRYDEN.

In this Case a Man of Honour and Virtue ought to act toward himself, as he should in fighting toward his Adversary; to be always upon his guard, to parry and ward off the Blows with all the Art and Skill one hath; to weary him out, and make good one's own Party, but never to kill, except the necessary Defence of one's self require it, and till Matters are brought to the very last Push.

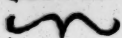
Secondly, There is no question to be made, but it is infinitely more virtuous and commendable to endure patiently, and support our selves with firm and immoveable Constancy to the very End, than to sink under the Load, and tamely flee before the Calamity. For such a Yielding betrays Weakness and Cowardice. But, because Perseverance, like Continence, is a Grace not given equally to all, nor is every Man alike able to receive it; the Question before us at present will be, Whether upon Supposition of some great Evil, insupportable for

† *Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi  
Retrulit in melius.*

VIRG. *Æn.* II.

the





the Quality, and past all Hopes of Remedy or Recovery; such as is likely enough to subvert and beat down all our Resolution, and irritate our Minds to some very wicked Passion, such as Discontent, Despair, Murmuring against our Great Lord; whether, I say, in such a Case, it might not be more expedient, or at least more excusable, to deliver one's self by one resolute Act, from such dreadful, such vicious Consequences, while our Understanding is perfect and undisturbed; than by a cowardly Delay to expose our selves to the Danger of being vanquish'd by the Temptation, and so ruined to all Eternity? Is it not better to quit the Field, than to sacrifice one's self by obstinately standing one's ground? This perhaps is a Course, which in some very nice and difficult Exigencies, Reason and merely human Prudence might advise; and accordingly some, who pretended to be great Philosophers, have practised it in different Countries; so that the Opinion seems to have been pretty favourably received. The *Stoicks* do not stand upon so much Ceremony, but give Men leave to dislodge and pack off whenever they are disposed to it; as we may collect from *Seneca* and others. The other Philosophers are somewhat more reserved, but they allow it too, provided a Man can give a good Reason for his proceeding thus. These are the Notions and Determinations of the Schools of Philosophy and human Reason; but that of Christ teaches us much otherwise. For the Christian Religion admits no Reason to be sufficient in this Case, nor ever dispenses with any other Circumstances whatsoever. The Truth and Wisdom of God absolutely condemns all such officious and  
voluntary

voluntary abandoning of our Post, and never suffers us to stir from our Duty, till we are regularly dismiss'd by the same Authority that placed us in it. No Man's own Inclinations are sufficient, nor can the doing it of his own head bear him out in this Matter. So that whatever hath been said in this Chapter, which may seem in any Degree to advise Men to Patience and Perseverance, and to propose this as the better and more eligible; tho' in the philosophical Sense, it be only recommended as good Counsel, yet in a religious one, it hath the Force of an absolute and indispensable Command.

Besides we may add, that it is an Argument of very great Wisdom, for a Man to know and distinguish rightly, which is the proper Season for Dying, and to lay hold on that Opportunity when put into his Hands. For every Man hath a critical Juncture of this kind, in which Virtue and Honour call; which some by being over hasty anticipate, and others as much too slow let slip through their Hands. Both these Defects, tho' so contrary in the Operation, yet proceed from the same Principles, which are a Mixture of Weakness and of Courage: But the Misfortune is, that even Magnanimity itself, without Discretion to temper and direct it, will not secure a Man's Character. How many Persons of just Renown, and once unblemish'd Honour, have yet had the Unhappiness of surviving their Reputation; and from an intemperate Fondness of Life, for the sake of some poor little Addition to their Days, have absolutely sullied and eclipsed their former Glories, following all their Credit to the Grave, a good Name murder'd and buried by their own Hands? The wretched  
Remainder

Book II.

Remainder of their Time hath retained not the least Tincture or Resemblance of what went before; but the Scandal of their Age, compared with the Honours of their earlier Years, looks like some wretched old Clout, tack'd to some very rich and beautiful Garment. And who would patch up Life at this odious deformed Rate? It is with this, as with Fruit; there is a critical Season of gathering it from the Tree. If you let it hang too long, it putrifies and grows insipid; and the longer you spare it, the worse it is; and if you pluck it too soon, the Loss is as great in the other Extreme; for then it is green and sowre, and good for nothing for want of kindly Ripening.

Many eminent Saints have with great Industry declined Dying, upon Consideration of their great Usefulness, and the mighty Advantage the Publick would receive from their Surviving; and this too, notwithstanding the certain Prospect of their own private Gain in leaving the World. And when a Man can exchange so much for the better, it argues great Charity, to be content to live. This *St. Paul* describes to be his own Case, (*Phil. I.*) and there is more than Men commonly think of Resignation in that old Saying, *If my longer Continuance be for the Benefit of thy People, I refuse not the Toil of Living. Si populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso Laborem.*

Death appears to us under divers Shapes, and the Manner of Mens undergoing it is vastly different; some of the ways of Dying are more easy, and accordingly the Figures and Ideas of it much less dismal and frightful than others. But when all is done, the Difference of these Forms is like that  
of



of Faces; and the Preference given to them depends chiefly upon Humour and Fancy. So far as I am capable of judging, of all Deaths which are usually termed natural, that is the gentlest and most supportable, which proceeds from a gradual Weakness and Stupefaction of the Parts; and of all that are violent, that sure is most eligible, which is quickest in Execution and Dispatch, and is least thought of before-hand. Some indeed are fond of making their last Act exemplary, a Pattern to others, and a Commendation to themselves, by the Proofs they give the World of Courage, and Wisdom, and Steadiness of Mind at their last Hour; but this is rather to have a Regard for other People than one's self, and a Symptom of a vain-glorious Humour, which is greedy of Fame, even at the Moment we expire, and reproaches us with Vanity, rather than brings any real Advantage to Mankind in common. Now Dying is not an Act of Society, but of one single Person; and therefore the Rules for regulating our Behaviour in it are personal. At such a Time a Man hath enough to do to mind his own Business; and the Thing he is chiefly obliged to attend, is to comfort and support himself in this last great Conflict, without troubling himself with the Affairs or the Censures of other People; for he is that very Moment putting himself out of the Dominion of common Fame, and going to a Place, where what the surviving World says will neither reach nor concern him. That, in a word, is the best Death, which is most private; where a Man hath greatest Opportunities of recollecting himself, and going out of the World quietly, without any troublesome Attendance

Book II.

Attendance or Observation. The usual Ceremonies of our Friends and Relations being by, and giving their Assistance in the last Struggles of Life, is exceeding troublesome and inconvenient; one disturbs your Sight with an Object that had better be away; another your Ear with some impertinent Discourse; a third your Mouth, by forcing upon you some fruitless Medicine or Sustenance; and all together crowd, and confound, and perfectly stifle the dying Man. Then their Tears, and Groans, and Lamentations, are more tormenting than all the rest; if they be real, and proceed from Affection and Concern, they melt one down, break one's Courage and Resolution, and cut one to the Heart: If they be formal only, and put on for Decency and Design, they raise one's Indignation, and provoke a very unseasonable Passion in the very midst of Agonies and Convulsions. Several very considerable Persons have been so sensible of this Inconvenience, that they have contrived industriously to die at a distance from their Relations, on purpose to be out of the way of it. And sure, that which moves many People to desire the contrary, is very ridiculous. For what can be more childish and senseless, than to please one's self with moving the Compassion of Friends and Acquaintance, and be proud that a great many People express a tender Concern for what we endure? We cannot but commend Firmness of Mind, and a hardy Virtue in encountering Misfortunes; we exhort our Friends to it, when it is their own Case, and upbraid them with Weakness, if they take it too tenderly; and yet this very Virtue we hate, and accuse as inhuman and wanting in Affection, when

when the Calamity is ours. Then they who were formerly chidden for resenting their own, are reproached, if they are not afflicted, and do not perfectly sink under our Sufferings. We condemn their Complaints for what they feel; and yet we cannot allow them so much as to be patient under what they only see. This is unjust, unreasonable, and foolish to the last Degree. And certainly a wise Man when sick, should be very well content at least, if not much better pleased with the composed Countenances, and resigned Behaviour of all the Friends that assist in his Extremities.

## CHAP. XII.

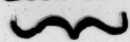
*The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit, which is the very Crown and Glory of Wisdom: And the last Head of this Book.*

A Quiet and contented Mind is the supreme Good, the utmost Felicity Man is capable of in this World. This is that rich and noble, indeed that inestimable Treasure, which the wise Men of old with so much Labour and Application sought after; the Fruit of all their Travels, the End of all their Studies; the Sum and Complement of all their Philosophy; and this is the very Reward of all the Pains, and the Crown of all the Wisdom, to which I am now instituting my Scholar in this Treatise. But this, like other Excellencies, is frequently misunderstood; and therefore to prevent any such Errors at present, I must first

1.



Book II.

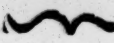


acquaint you, that the Quiet I now speak of, does by no means consist in a Retreat from the Noise and Clutter of the World, Leisure from Business, Time at Command, no Cares to disturb one; a delightful, nice, and uninterrupted Solitude, full of Ease and Plenty; or in a profound Neglect and Oblivion of what is done Abroad: Were this the Case, what an infinite Number of happy Persons should we have? Careless and idle Women, slothful and insignificant Fellows, Cowards and Coxcombs, the Sensual and Luxurious, would have this Blessing at Command. For if want of Thought and Business give a Title to it, theirs is indisputable; and what the Wise aspire after, and think a Prize sufficient for a whole Life's Study, these attain to by a much easier way. This then is the first Principle we are to go upon, that Multiplicity of Business, or having nothing to do, neither of them constitute or destroy, take from, or contribute to the Tranquillity we are now speaking of. But this is a decent and beautiful, a gentle and mild, an equal and united, a firm and pleasant composure of Temper. Such a steadiness of Mind, as neither Business nor Leisure, neither prosperous nor adverse Fortune, no turn of Time or Chance can disturb or change, exalt or depress. For this is the Property and \* *Character of true Tranquillity, never to be shaken*; but to continue immoveable and unconcerned; always in Humour, and always the same.

2. The next Consideration upon this Occasion is, by what Methods a Man may arise up to this Se-

\* Vera Tranquillitas non concuti.

dateness and Elevation of Soul; how we shall attain; and when attained, how we shall preserve and maintain our selves in it. And for this we need only refresh our Memories with what hath been already delivered in this Second Book: For they are the Rules, by the Observation and careful Practice whereof, we may hope to gain our Point. And therefore, for the Reader's Ease and better Convenience, I will here very briefly repeat the Substance of them. They consisted, you remember, of two Sorts. First, Such as either carry off, or prevent all those Qualities, that are Obstructions to our Improvement in this Happiness. And Secondly, Such as furnish and adorn the Mind with such Virtues as tend to the Increase and Conservation of it. Those Things that are aptest to hinder, or to disturb the Ease and Quiet of the Mind; are popular Opinions, and common Prejudices, which notwithstanding they have made themselves almost Universal, are yet, for the most part, false and groundless; and a Man would wonder which way Notions could get so much Credit, which have so very small a Stock of Argument to set up upon. The next Impediment to be remov'd, arises from our Passions and Desires, for these indulged, quite spoil and break our Temper; they make us nice and squeamish, humour-some and difficult; and these are Qualities utterly inconsistent with Contentedness: Now these Passions and Appetites are kindled and put into Motion by the two contrary sorts of Events, which we call Prosperity and Adversity; for they are the Winds and Storms that swell and disorder the Soul, and make all within foul Weather, and a troubled

Book II.  Sea. The last Thing to be remedied, is that mean and narrow-spirited Captivity of Thought, by which the Mind (that is, the Judgment and the Will) is chained down like a Slave to his Galley, or cramp'd up like a Beast with his Yoke, to set Forms, particular Opinions, and local Customs. Now the first Thing a Man hath to do, is to knock off all these Fetters, and break through such unreasonable Tyranny and Confinement; to set one's Mind at large, assert our native Liberty, and resolve to be at our own Disposal. To entertain free extensive Notions of Things; and be open and universal, inquisitive and discerning, enlarging our Studies and our Idea's, and ranging through all the spacious Plains of the World and Nature in general. For a wise and happy Man must answer that Description; \* *Born for the Publick, considering this whole World as one common House and Family, concerning himself with all the Parts of it, and employing his Contemplation upon every Thing that passes there.*

When the Platform is thus cleared of Rubbish, and the Ground prepared and ready to begin upon, the next Thing in Order is to lay the Foundations; and those are two, an entire substantial Probity of Mind, and the fixing one's self in such a Calling or Condition as our Nature, Circumstances, and other Qualifications have fitted us for. The Materials with which this Building must be carried up, and wherein both the Strength and Beauty of it will consist, are these that follow. The first and

\* In commune genitus, mundum ut unam domum spectans, toti se inferens mundo, & in omnes ejus actus contemplationem suam mittens.



principal is, true Piety, whereby a Man contemplates Almighty God, not with a Soul full of Horror and Amazement, but with a Mind full of Purity, with Freedom and Delight, with profound Respect, and fervent Devotion. For God is the absolute, the universal Lord and Governor of all Things; and though his Nature and Essence be neither visible to our Senses, nor fall within the Comprehension of our Understandings, so that we are not able to give our selves, or others, an exact and perfect Account what he is in himself; yet it is our Duty to acknowledge and confess him; to pay him all possible Honour and Homage, and humble Adoration; to serve him zealously, and with our whole Heart; to entertain becoming Thoughts of his Providence and Perfections; to hope and trust in him for all manner of Good, from the Being who is Goodness in the Abstract; to apprehend nothing of Evil or Injury from him; but be assured, if any Thing we resent as such happen to us, it is the Effect of our own Provocations and Follies, and most justly inflicted. In the next Place, Simplicity and Integrity in Conversation must be added, Conformity without troublesome and unnecessary Scruples to the Laws and Customs of the Place where we dwell; living without Hypocrisy or Dissimulation, dealing fairly and above-board, no crafty Reservation or Disguise, but to let our Words and Actions speak our Heart; and the inmost recesses of our Soul be thus laid open to God and the World. This is another Character given of a wise Man; that he \* *spread*

\* Conscientiam suam aperiens, semperque tanquam in publico vivens, se magis veritus quam alios.

Book II.

*his Conscience, as it were, and exposes it to publick View; lives and acts constantly, as if all Mankind were conscious of what he does, and hath a greater Reverence for himself, than for the Observation of others.* He that manages himself thus, can never want Encouragement to do well, nor powerful Restraints from doing otherwise. Then follows Moderation, which must extend to all Persons and Things; our selves, and all that can be any way concern'd or converse with us; our Thoughts and Words, our Designs and Actions, must all be regulated by it. For Moderation is the Original and Source, the nourisher and cherisher of Tranquillity; by this we learn to lay aside and to despise all Pomp and Shew, and vain Superfluities; to bring our Desires within their proper Compass; to keep them under Government, and to content our selves with a competent Provision, such Proportions of every Thing as our Occasions require, when really and rightly consider'd, without any of those imaginary Wants, which we are apt to form to our selves: And thus disposed we come to like, and be very well pleased with our present Condition, not envious of other Peoples Enjoyments, not fond of Change. How much all this conduces to Happiness and Tranquillity, a very slight Reflection will serve to convince us: For when Moderation hath thus furled the Sails, the Storm, when it blows hard, hath less to fasten upon; and cannot do us any Damage comparable to that we should suffer, if our Desires were enlarged, and the Sheet let fly to the Wind. By thus contracting our selves, we are fortified against every Accident that might shock or injure us; we bear our Minds up above

all

all manner of Fear; despise all the Assaults of Fortune, and the Malice of Death it self; looking upon that as the period of all our Sufferings; a kind Friend which takes us out of the way from infinite Calamities, but creates not, nor exposes us to any one. Thus also the wise Man is described. \* *One that despises all those Things which are the Plagues and Torments of human Life; above the reach of Accidents, without Anxiety, without Fear, without any kind of tender or troublesome Concern.* Thus a Man must secure Steadiness of Mind, and a good Agreement with himself; he must look for his Satisfaction in his own Breast; live easily, and have no Disputes, no Trouble within; but keep all there peaceable and chearful; rejoycing and congratulating with one's own Mind; and dwelling, as we call it, at home, with full Contentation, and a sort of Self-sufficiency; such as is highly necessary and commendable, such as nothing but Wisdom can give, and without which neither it, nor the Happiness it proposes for our Reward, can possibly, subsist. † *No body but the wise Man is pleased with his own Condition. All Folly in a little time grows sick of it self; no Man is happy, who does not think himself so.*

In a word. To this Composition of an easy and quiet Mind, two Ingredients are indispensably requisite. The first, and indeed the chief, is a clear and a good Conscience; which does inspire

\* Contemptor omnium, quibus torquetur vita: supra omnia quæ contingunt acciduntque eminens. Intrepidus, Imperturbatus.

† Nisi Sapienti sua non placent. Omni Stultitia laborat fastidio sui. Non est beatus, esse se qui non putat.



Book. II. Men with wonderful Strength and Assurance, and is a mighty Stay and Defence, and Support in all manner of Contingencies. But yet this, as mighty as it is, will not singly be a sufficient Defence; for sometimes the Tempest is so exceeding fierce and strong, that all the Innocence in the World is not able to bear up against it. How often do we see very good Men in very grievous Calamities, dejected and at a loss? Nay, our blessed Saviour himself mentions some Tribulations of his foretelling, which should endanger even seducing the very Elect. To this therefore we must add one more, which is Strength of Mind, and natural Courage; and of this too it must much more be allow'd, that it alone is by no means sufficient for our Purpose. For the Force of Conscience is prodigious, and almost unconceivable: It stares us in the Face, haunts and dogs us with guilty Remorse, makes us betray, accuse and turn Enemies to our selves; and for want of other Evidence to convict us, it compels us to inform, and give Testimony of our own Crimes.

*\* For why must those be thought to 'scape, who feel  
Those Rods of Scorpions, and those Whips of Steel,  
Which Conscience shakes, when she with Rage controuls,  
And spreads amazing Terrors through their Souls?  
Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find  
A fiercer Torment than a guilty Mind.*

It draws our Indictment, Arraigns, Tries, Condemns and puts us to Death: So different are the Parts it acts, and yet so dextrous and powerful is

\* Occultum quatiente Animo tortore flagellum.

J u v. Sat. 13.

it in supplying the Place of Adversary, Witness, Chap. 12.  
Judge and Executioner, that we need no other. ~~~~~  
No Covert can do the ill Man's Business, says *Epicurus*; for let it be never so close, yet he can never think himself safe; for Conscience will be sure to discover him to himself, and that Discovery will always represent, and sometimes create Danger.

† *Though Bribes or Favour shall assert his Cause,  
Pronounce him Guiltless, and elude the Laws;  
None quits himself, his own impartial Thought  
Will damn, and Conscience will record the Fault.  
This first the Wicked feels——*

So that upon the whole matter, let a Man be never so holy and good, yet at the same time, if he be in his own Temper timorous and faint-hearted; and again, let a Man be naturally never so stout and a Stranger to Fear, yet if he be not a good Man, and his Conscience cannot speak Peace to him; neither the one, nor the other of these Persons will ever be capable of this happy Tranquillity of Spirit, this Perfection and Fruit of Wisdom, which we are at present treating of. There must be a friendly Correspondence, a mutual Assistance of both; and they in whose Souls both meet together, are qualified to do Wonders; and such are the most eminent Persons, which we find renown'd in Story for great and noble Actions, and intrepid Behaviour in Times of greatest Trial. Such were *Epaminondas*, *Cato* and *Scipio* in particular, whose Unconcernedness in Danger and Death is admirable. These two *Romans*, when publickly accused,

† — Prima est hæc Ultio, quod se  
Judice nemo nocens absolvitur. *Ibid.*

put

put those very Persons who preferred the Complaint against them to the blush, and made them betray their Shame to the whole Assembly. They gained over the Judges to their Side, and struck all the Audience so, as not only to win their Favour, but to raise their Admiration. And all this only with that astonishing Unconcernedness and Equality of Mind, which appeared in their Carriage; for the Character *Livy* gives of *Scipio*, and the Reason of his voluntary Exile assigned there, is, *That he had a Heart too big, too generous, to know how to be treated like a Criminal, or descend so low as complying with the Custom of defending his own Innocence by a formal Apology.* \*

\* Major animus ac Natura erat, quàm ut Reus esse sciret, & submittere se in Humilitatem causam dicentium.

TIT. LIV. *Hist. Lib.* XXXVIII.



*The End of the Second Book.*



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